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Contents

	Page
THE CENTER SQUARE MEETINGHOUSE Edwin B. Bronner	67
ENGLISH FRIENDS AND THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE ..... Alan M. Rees	74
HANNAH KILHAM: FRIEND OF THE FREE .. Elwood Cronk	88
CULTURAL RESOURCES OF QUAKER PIONEERS IN OHIO ..... Opal Thornburg	94
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS —	
Leibniz and the Quakers ..... Nicholas Rescher	100
QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS	108
HISTORICAL NEWS	110
BOOK REVIEWS —	
Tooker, *Nathan Trotter*	111
Chapman-Huston and Cripps, *Through a City Archway* ..... Robert Davison	112
Thayer, *Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy* ..... F.B.T.	112
Vining, *The Virginia Exiles* .... Dorothy Gilbert Thorne	114
Steere, *Friends Work in Africa* ..... Levinus K. Painter	115
Lee, *Laurels and Rosemary* ..... Elizabeth Cox Wright	116
Reed, ed., *Friends School, Wigton* ..... Mary Rhodes	117
[Waddilove], *One Man's Vision* ..... Arthur Dunham	118
BRIEFER NOTICES ..... Henry J. Cadbury	120
ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS..... Lyman W. Riley	127

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THE CENTER SQUARE MEETINGHOUSE
and the Other Meetinghouses of Early Philadelphia

By EDWIN B. BRONNER*

Early Quakers in Philadelphia built twelve meetinghouses in the old part of the city, that is, the area along the river from Pine to Vine, and as far west as Seventh Street.[1]

The earliest structure, the so-called Boarded Meetinghouse, located on the west side of Front Street, near Sansom [1], was built in 1683, during William Penn's first visit to the colony.[2] The last building erected in the old area was built by the Friends

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*Edwin B. Bronner is a member of the Department of History, Temple University. This paper is a part of his address given at the Annual Meeting of Friends Historical Association at Arch Street Meetinghouse on Eleventh Month 29, 1954.

[1] The map on page 73 indicates the location of all of these structures except the Center Square Meetinghouse. The map was prepared for the writer by Miss Dorothy Seegers, Temple University. Figures in square brackets in the text refer to locations on this map. The cuts opposite page 65 were kindly furnished by the American Philosophical Society.

[2] *Inventory of Church Archives: Society of Friends in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1941), pp. 53-55. On page 54 the persons who compiled this inventory discuss the research undertaken by Albert Cook Myers in regard to this matter. This volume contains a great deal of material related to meetinghouses in Pennsylvania.

who withdrew from the central city meetings in 1827. Called the Cherry Street Meetinghouse, it was completed in 1828 on the north side of Cherry, between Fourth and Fifth Streets [11].[3]

The second oldest meetinghouse was located on Front Street between Arch and Race Streets [2]. Called the Bank Meetinghouse, because it was on the bank of the Delaware, and built in 1685, it began to decay almost immediately and was demolished and sold for £16, 15 shillings. A Second Bank Meetinghouse was built in 1702-03, which was used until 1790 [5]. By that time, Philadelphia Monthly Meeting had been split into three districts, with the group at the Bank Meetinghouse called the Northern District Meeting. The members erected a new meetinghouse on Keys Alley in 1790, between Front and Second Streets, just north of Race Street [9].

Another seventeenth-century meetinghouse was built on the southwest corner of Second and Market Streets in 1696 [4]. This was replaced in 1755 by a larger edifice [7]. These buildings were referred to as the High Street or Market Street Meetinghouse, and sometimes the early one was called the Great Meetinghouse while the later one was spoken of as the Greater Meetinghouse. This latter building was taken down after the Arch Street Meetinghouse was completed on Arch Street between Third and Fourth Streets [10]. Started in 1804 and completed in 1811, this is the oldest meetinghouse still in use by Quakers in center city.

A meetinghouse for Friends in the southern part of the town was built on the south side of Pine near Second Street in 1753 [6]. It was referred to as the Southern District Monthly Meeting after 1772. Another building for worship was erected in 1764 on the southeast corner of Fourth and Chestnut, on the grounds of the Friends School, and it was primarily used for meetings of younger Friends [8].

Two buildings were erected by small schismatic Quaker groups. The Keithian Quakers, followers of George Keith, built a small structure in the 1690's, on the southwest corner of Second

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[3] For a brief description of all these meetinghouses, see Edwin B. Bronner, "Quaker Landmarks in Early Philadelphia," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, 43, Part I (March, 1953), 210-216 (this volume is published separately under the title *Historic Philadelphia*).

and Arch Streets [12].[4] The building did not last long and neither did the group, which called itself the Christian Quakers. The second body, the Free Quakers—those who withdrew or were disowned for participating in the American War for Independence—built a structure in 1783 on the southwest corner of Fifth and Arch Streets [13].[5] This building is still standing, and is the oldest Friends meetinghouse in the old Philadelphia area. It has not been used as a meetinghouse for many years.

One other meetinghouse was built in the seventeenth century by Quakers living in the old section of the town—the so-called Center Square Meetinghouse [3]. The struggle by early Friends to erect this structure is the central theme of this brief article.

The inspiration for building a meetinghouse in the center of the city, that is, halfway between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, undoubtedly came from William Penn. He expected the town to extend from one river to the other, and hoped that eventually a number of public buildings could be erected on a square where Broad and High Streets crossed. The construction of the meetinghouse was of service to him in promoting the colony among prospective settlers in Europe, England, and Ireland. In 1683 he suggested that Friends build a meetinghouse and locate a burial ground "in the middle of the City." The following year Penn contributed 2,000 board feet of lumber, 3,000 cedar shingles, and stone which had already been dug out of his quarry.[6]

This was not to be another wooden structure like the Boarded Meetinghouse and the first Bank Meetinghouse. Instead, it was built of brick, fifty feet by thirty-five feet and fourteen feet high. It was the first permanent public building in the city. The effort required to erect such a structure was too much for Friends who were struggling to build their own homes, clear their land, or begin a business enterprise in a strange world. The settlers found it almost impossible to raise the money, and by the time the building was

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[4] See Ethyn Williams Kirby, *George Keith (1638-1716)* (New York, 1942).

[5] See Charles Wetherill, *History of the Religious Society of Friends called by some the Free Quakers* (Philadelphia, 1894).

[6] October 2, 1683, Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, 1682-1714. Department of Records, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 304 Arch Street. June 3, 1684, Minutes of the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia, found in the same minute book.

completed, decided that it was too far from the real center of the town to be convenient. Thus this project could not be labeled a success.

The first work at the Center Square site was the erection of a wooden shed. This was used for meetings for the next three years, for the brick structure was not occupied until 1687, and it was not completed until 1690. Construction of the permanent building began in July 1685, and at the same time a committee began to collect subscriptions from Friends to pay the workmen.

From the beginning there was evidence that Friends were not united in their feelings in regard to the new project. Because there was unhappiness upon the part of some persons about building on Center Square, it was agreed that meetings would be held in the meetinghouse on Front Street on First Day afternoon.[7] The matter of traveling out to Center Square rather than gathering in the convenient meetinghouse on Front Street troubled Friends for a dozen years.

The reluctance of some Friends became more apparent in October 1685, when the committee reported that it was having difficulty in raising money. References to this situation are found in the minutes each month that winter, and in March of the following year it was reported that there was still no roof on the building and one was needed to hold the walls together. There was no money available to pay for the work until four men promised to pay what they owed and four others advanced £9, making a total of £14, which was enough to meet the emergency. To complicate matters further, the carpenter who accepted the responsibility for supervising the work, frequently failed to complete certain tasks according to schedule.

In April, Samuel Carpenter, who had been very active in raising money and in making plans for the meetinghouse, asked that something be done about the large sums which he had advanced, as he planned to leave soon for Barbados. The lack of money was brought up at the next Quarterly Meeting, and one man promised to contribute one pound, while another man subscribed a bushel of corn.

In August it was necessary to do more work on the roof, but again there was no money. One Friend offered credit to buy the

[7] December 7, 1685, ibid.

shingles. Another man said he would provide nails for the shingles. A third person offered to find nails for other work on the roof. Two of the men referred to above promised to obtain bricks and collect for them from the Meeting later. The need for money continued, and in October, Anthony Morris promised to go from house to house to collect delinquent subscriptions. When he gave up hope the following February, Benjamin Chambers promised to take over the list of delinquents and try to collect from such persons. Carpenter returned later in the year, and with Thomas Duckett, joined Morris and Chambers in an effort to collect what had been promised by their fellow Quakers.

Philadelphia Monthly Meeting decided to appeal to other Friends for assistance. Generally the answer came back that Friends elsewhere were attempting to raise funds to build a meetinghouse for themselves. Late in 1687, a new subscription was started, for the purpose of raising the money needed to complete the work on the Center Square Meetinghouse. By that time the brick structure was in better condition than the wooden shed, and the shed was razed and sold. The new building still lacked doors and windows and a gallery for Public Friends. That this was a difficult time for everyone is indicated by the following minutes of August 1688: "Whereas several pieces of the Timber belonging to friends, and intended to build a Meeting house being taken away from the Woods, and seen at several places in this town. The meeting requests Thomas Fitzwater, Benjamin Chambers, John Jones, John Day and Henry Jonson or any two of them to make Enquiry into the same, and return their answer to the next Quarterly Meeting."[8]

During the following year there was a struggle to obtain funds to pay for laying a floor and putting proper windows in the building, and with these tasks accomplished, the meetinghouse was finally completed. Just a few years later, as soon as the Great Meetinghouse was built at Second and High Streets, the Center Meetinghouse fell into disuse. When Penn returned in 1699, it was decided that Friends should sell the building to Penn if possible. With reluctance it was agreed that the structure was worth no more than £100, and it was sold to Penn for that price. However, in 1701 Friends asked if they could use the building during Yearly Meeting sessions and, later the same year, asked Penn to "resign the Center

[8] July 2, 1688, ibid.

meeting house to friends again."[9] The building was torn down and the materials used to erect the Second Bank Meetinghouse, which was completed in 1703.

The unwillingness on the part of Philadelphia Quakers to cooperate in the construction of the Center Square Meetinghouse, either by giving of their time or their money, did not indicate that there was a lessening of concern for the spiritual welfare of the Society of Friends. Neither can it be said that the difficulties were entirely financial, although it is true that there was a scarcity of ready money in the first decade of the colony's history. The fact that three other meetinghouses were built in the town, and a dozen or more were erected in the surrounding communities during the early years offers a sufficient answer to each of these suggestions.

The construction of this meetinghouse was a part of Penn's development program, and it may be that the reticence exhibited by Friends in regard to erecting the building was related to the strained relationship which existed between the Proprietor and his colonists. This was the period when Penn turned the government over to selected groups of men and, to his great chagrin, found that the persons he had chosen to govern failed to fulfill their obligations.[10] In these early years Penn came face to face with the fact that his tenants were not going to pay their quitrents if they could find any way to escape. Surely, if the settlers felt that the construction of this meetinghouse out in the woods, a mile from town, was merely to serve Penn in advertising for new settlers, it would not be difficult to understand the reluctance exhibited by the Quakers. On the other hand, the fact that the Center Square Meetinghouse was a mile from the Delaware bank where the settlers lived may have been enough in itself to discourage active participation.

Whatever the reason for the slowness of Friends in regard to the Center Square Meetinghouse, the lack of concern for the building continued until it was torn down a few years after it was completed, and it has been largely forgotten ever since.

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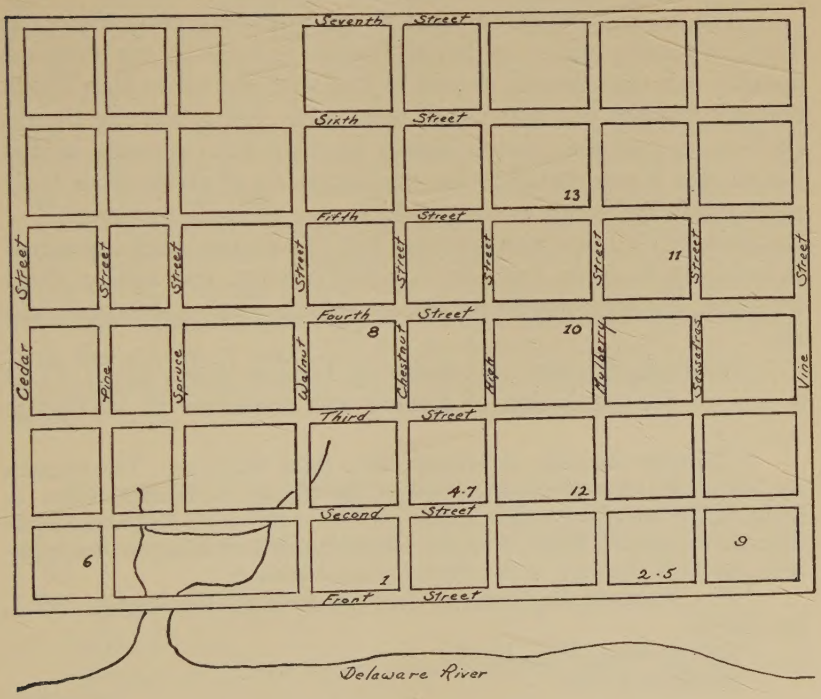
[9] September 26, 1701, ibid.

[10] See Edwin B. Bronner, "The Failure of the 'Holy Experiment' in Pennsylvania, 1684-1699," *Pennsylvania History,* 21 (April, 1954), 93-108. This article is based upon an unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Pennsylvania, 1681-1701, Utopian Failure, Practical Success," written at the University of Pennsylvania, 1952.

MEETING HOUSES OF EARLY PHILADELPHIA

1. Boarded Meeting House. 1683.
2. Bank Meeting House. 1684.
3. Center Square Meeting House. 1685.
   (located on present City Hall Square)
4. Great Meeting House. 1696.
5. Second Bank Meeting House. 1703
6. Pine Street Meeting House. 1753.
7. Second Great Meeting House. 1755.
8. Fourth Street Meeting House. 1764.
9. Key's Alley Meeting House. 1790.
10. Arch Street Meeting House. 1804.
11. Cherry Street Meeting House. 1828.
12. Keithian Meeting House. 1690's.
13. Free Quaker Meeting House. 1783



ENGLISH FRIENDS AND THE ABOLITION OF THE BRITISH SLAVE TRADE

By Alan M. Rees*

It is well known that a strong bond of kinship and friendship linked British and American Quakers in the eighteenth century. A most significant illustration of this fact lies in their common endeavors towards the abolition of the African slave trade. The treatment and condition of the African Negro was first brought to the attention of the London Yearly Meeting as early as 1712 when Philadelphia Yearly Meeting forwarded to London its yearly Epistle, in which it outlined its attitude towards slavery and the slave trade. The Epistle complained of the activity of the non-Quaker slave traders, against whom their pleas for the discontinuance of the trade were ineffective, and requested the counsel and advice of the London Meeting on the subject.[1]

The London reply was sent in the following year, when the Yearly Meeting wrote to Pennsylvania, expressing the cautious opinion that consultation should be had with the other plantations before a decision was taken as to what their official attitude should be. The sense of the London Yearly Meeting was expressed in this Epistle, for it was declared that the importing of slaves from their native country "is not a commendable nor allowable practice."[2] Again in 1715 it was their opinion that "To be any ways concerned in bringing Negroes from their native country, and selling them for slaves is a trade not fit for one professing truth to be concerned in."[3]

No further action was taken by London, although in 1720 a general disapprobation of slavery was contained in an Epistle

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* Graduate Assistant in History, Ohio State University. The research for this article was principally done in the Library of Friends House in London. The author's grateful thanks are due to Mr. John Nickalls, Librarian, and Miss Muriel Hicks, Assistant Librarian, for their kindness and assistance. All MSS cited are in the Friends House Library.

[1] Ezra Michener, *Retrospect of Early Quakerism* (Philadelphia, 1860), pp. 338-39.

[2] Epistles Sent (MS), II, 106.

[3] Michener, p. 339.

from Friends in London to those in New York. This was a delayed response, for the New York Meeting had admitted in 1718 that their members had conscientious scruples against both slave-dealing and slave-keeping.[4]

The tactics of the Yearly Meetings both in England and in Pennsylvania were those of delay based on caution and the fear that the unity of the Society might be threatened if too violent action were taken against those Friends who engaged in the slave traffic.

Nevertheless, in 1727 London Yearly Meeting gave its opinion that "It is the sense of this Meeting that the importing of Negroes from their native country and relations by Friends is not a commendable nor allowable practice . . . and that practice is censured by this Meeting."[5] For thirty years no official action was taken. Ostensibly the issue slumbered until 1757 when the Yearly Meeting, "being apprehensive that some under our name, both in this nation and the colonies abroad, are concerned for filthy lucres sake in dealing in Negroes," requested the Meeting for Sufferings to arrange for copies of the minutes of the Yearly Meetings relating to the Negroes, together with extracts from the printed Epistles, to be sent to the Quarterly Meetings at home and in the colonies.[6] As a result of this minute of the Yearly Meeting, the Meeting for Sufferings appointed a sub-committee to attend to the work. This was the first Quaker anti-slave-trade committee, the first of its kind in England, and consisted of Joseph Pease, Dr. Fothergill (the Royal Physician), four Anglo-American merchants — Robert Bell, Philip Eliot, Henton Brown and John Sherwin — and Richard Partridge (Parliamentary agent for the Friends). After finding only the minute of the 1727 Yearly Meeting to guide them, they decided to refer the matter back to the Yearly Meeting for further advice.[7]

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[4] Ann T. Gary, "The Political and Economic Relations of English and American Quakers, 1750-1785," Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 1935; John Cox, Jr., *Quakerism in the City of New York, 1657-1930* (New York, 1930), p. 56.

[5] Minutes of London Yearly Meeting (MS), VI, 457.

[6] Ibid., XI, 271.

[7] Minutes of London Meeting for Sufferings (MS), July 15, 1757, XXX, 95.

In the following year the printed Epistle of the Yearly Meeting fervently warned all Friends "to avoid being in any way concerned in reaping the unrighteous profits arising from the iniquitous practice of dealing in negroes and other slaves," as it was a practice in direct violation of the gospel.[8]

Again in 1761 the Yearly Meeting, fearing that many Friends were still interested in the "unchristian traffick," condemned slavery and recommended disownment in the case of those Friends who would not desist from any connection with the slave traffic.[9] This was the beginning of the purge of all Friends who were in any way concerned with the practice. Two years later the printed Epistle of the Yearly Meeting renewed the exhortation for Friends everywhere to "be especially careful to keep their hands clean of giving any encouragement, in any shape, to the slave trade, it being evidently destructive to the natural rights of mankind."[10]

The first sign of any participation in a campaign for abolition by means of systematic activity came in 1767, when the London Meeting for Sufferings, acting on the advice of a letter from the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, ordered a reprint of one thousand five hundred copies of Anthony Benezet's *Observations on the Enslaving, Importing and Purchasing of Negroes.* These pamphlets were designed for presentation to members of Parliament.[11] Previous to this action all efforts had been confined to eradicating the practice of slavery and the slave trade within the Quaker body; henceforth the Friends looked increasingly outside their own body.

Further evidence of this objective activity is seen in 1773, when political action was taken on the request of the Virginia Quakers for English Quaker aid in obtaining a favorable reception, on the part of the home government, to the petition of the Virginia Burgesses against the slave trade, and to their request to allow manumission.[12] Application was made to members of the Adminis-

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[8] *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in London. . . .* (London, 1858), I, 307-308 (Epistle for 1758).

[9] *Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in London* (London, 1783), p. 228.

[10] *Epistles,* I, 328 (Epistle for 1763).

[11] Minutes of London Meeting for Suffering, May 29, 1767, XXXII, 68-69.

[12] Ibid., July 31, 1772, pp. 127-28.

tration, including the First Lord of Trade, who seemed well disposed to the idea that the importation of slaves into Virginia should be discouraged, but thought that any Quaker activity concerning the matter was unnecessary.[13]

As the Society divested itself of slave-owners and traders the vigor of the attack grew apace. Further encouragement to the English Quakers came in a letter from the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, dated August 15, 1782, informing the brethren in London that the Quakers in Virginia, upon representation, had succeeded in their application to the legislature, which had as a result abolished the law which prohibited the manumission of slaves. The letter concluded by declaring that "the trade to the African Coast is still supported by authority on your side; whilst this continues Great Britain cannot be clear of pollution. . . . We therefore beseech you Brethren . . . as to engage you to embrace all opportunities of promoting the discouragement of it."[14]

In consequence of this exhortation a number of persons were appointed by the London Meeting for Sufferings to answer this letter.[15] Several months later they were requested to consider a proper minute to be laid before the next Yearly Meeting, before whom it was hoped it would meet with solid consideration.[16] The letter from Philadelphia had been well heeded, and indeed the campaign itself was gathering strength and inspiration from the enthusiasm and sincerity of the Pennsylvania brethren.

The next Yearly Meeting, in 1783, "having considered the recommendation of our brethren in America to take under consideration an application to the King and to those in favour of the poor enslaved negroes," recommended that their efforts should be begun by an Address to the King, and a number of Friends were appointed to assist the Meeting for Sufferings, to whom the task was entrusted.[17] The House of Lords was also to be petitioned if deemed necessary, and the Meeting for Sufferings was to use its utmost

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[13] Ibid., February 5, 1773, p. 218; March 26, 1773, p. 235.

[14] Letters to and from London and Philadelphia (MS), August 15, 1782, I, 198-99.

[15] Minutes of London Meeting for Sufferings, December 1 and December 8, XXXVI, 221, 236.

[16] Ibid., April 4, 1783, p. 385.

[17] Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, XVII, 281.

endeavors to convince those in power of the evils and iniquities inherent in the Trade.[18]

In the following month, with little loss of time, the Meeting for Sufferings agreed to the draft of the "Petition of the People called Quakers." This stated that the petitioners considered themselves engaged in a religious duty to lay the suffering situation of the unhappy Negroes before the House of Commons, and regretted that a nation professing the Christian faith should so counteract the principles of humanity and justice by a policy of oppression. The petition concluded by begging that the Bill for the Regulation of the African Trade, then before the House, which provided for the restraint of the officers of the Africa Company from exporting Negroes, be extended to all persons whatsoever, so that the rapine and bloodshed might be ended. This petition was signed by two hundred and seventy-three Friends. At the same time the Meeting for Sufferings appointed its own sub-committee to arrange for the presentation of the petition.[19]

The group appointed called upon Lord North, the Secretary of State, and Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who expressed their approbation of the petition. The motives of the petition were explained to Sir Cecil Wray, who agreed to present it. This was duly effected by Sir Cecil, who spoke in terms very favorable and respectful to the Quakers. Lord North seconded the motion with similar terms of approval, maintaining that "its object and tendency ought to recommend it to every human breast," but pointed out that the session was too far advanced for the subject to be taken into consideration, and added his regret that the slave trade, "against which the petition was justly directed, was in a commercial view necessary to almost every nation in Europe."[20]

The Meeting for Sufferings had no intention of allowing the matter to be quietly shelved and forgotten in this manner. On June 20th, the day after the petition was presented, it requested twenty-two Friends to embrace all opportunities to promote the intention of the Yearly Meeting respecting the Slave Trade. The Committee

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[18] Ibid., pp. 306-307.

[19] Minutes of London Meeting for Sufferings, June 17, 1783, XXXVI, 408-14.

[20] "Report of the Committee Appointed on the Petition to Parliament respecting the Slave Trade," in Book of Cases (MS), III, 190-98.

included James Phillips (the printer), John Coakley Lettsom (a prominent physician), William Dillwyn (a friend of Benezet), John Lloyd, Thomas Knowles, and Thomas Corbyn. This became known as the Slave Trade Committee, and as a sub-committee of the Meeting for Sufferings was henceforth to meet each week at the close of the Meeting for Sufferings.[21]

The first activity of the Committee was to prepare a pamphlet — *The Case of Our Fellow Creatures the Oppressed Africans Respectfully Recommended to the Serious Consideration of the Legislature of Great Britain by the People Called Quakers.* This work was the text of the petition presented to Parliament. Two thousand copies were ordered to be printed by the Meeting for Sufferings on the advice of the Slave Trade Committee.[22] It was the intention to present one to each member of the Legislature, "trusting that it may tend to affect the minds of those who have it in their power to redress their [the Negroes'] grievances."[23]

The Slave Trade Committee met each week from July 1783 and throughout 1784. From the fragmentary minutes of this committee which survive,[24] we see that its first action was to secure the regular insertion of pieces on the slave trade in the newspapers. The papers selected included the *General Evening Post* in London; the *York Courant;* the *Bath Chronicle;* and the Bristol papers.[25] The pieces inserted included extracts from *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements on the Slavery of the Negroes in America* (Philadelphia, 1773); Astley's *Voyages,* edited by Bene-

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[21] Minutes of London Meeting for Sufferings, June 20, 1783, XXXVI, 417-418.

[22] Ibid., October 17, 1783, p. 478.

[23] London Meeting for Sufferings to Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, December 5, 1783, in Letters to and from London and Philadelphia, I, 219-20.

[24] Two sets of minutes exist: the first covers the period from July 1783 to July 1784 and is contained in a collection of cuttings and autographs relating to Thomas Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade* entitled "Clarkson's Illustrations," vol. I. The second set is a manuscript volume entitled "Minutes of the Anti-Slave Trade Committee" and relates to the period from August 1783 to 1793. These are henceforth referred to as Minutes A and Minutes B respectively. Both sets are in the library at Friends' House, London.

[25] On this subject also see T. Clarkson, *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London, 1808), I, 125.

zet; and selections from Dr. Hans Sloane's *Introduction to the Natural History of Jamaica.* The committee also sent two thousand copies of Joseph Wood's *Thoughts on the Slavery of Negroes* to Bristol and Liverpool, the slave-trade strongholds, and further copies to Granville Sharp, James Ramsay, and the Bishop of Chester (Beilby Porteous).[26]

The principal purpose of these endeavors was not to engage in an extensive political agitation, but rather to prevail upon those with property and influence in the community to abolish the slave trade. Their mode of activity bears more resemblance to the attempts of Granville Sharp to persuade the archbishops and bishops of the inhumanity and injustice of the trade than to the activities of the 1787 Anti-Slave-Trade Committee with its appeal to the country.[27] Hence in 1783 we find that the Friends sent a copy of *The Case* to the King, another to the Queen, and a further copy to the Prince of Wales. In addition one was sent to the principal officers of state: Lord Thurlow (Lord Chancellor), Earl Mansfield (Chief Justice of the King's Bench), Earl Gower (President of the Council), William Pitt (Chancellor of the Exchequer), Lords Carmarthen and Sydney (Secretaries of State), and to Charles Wolfran Cornwall (Speaker of the House of Commons). Each received the offering very respectfully, declaring hearty concurrence with the views expressed therein, "but thought that the time was not yet come to maturity, which they nevertheless wished, and are ready to propose it when opportunity offers." Kind compliments were offered to the Quakers in place of action.[28]

In 1784 the Yearly Meeting expressed its approval of all this activity and again urged the Quarterly Meetings to make certain that no members of their meeting were concerned in any way with the Trade.[29] In the same year the Meeting for Sufferings decided in June to reconstitute its slave trade committee. Henceforth it consisted of only fifteen members in place of the twenty-two appointed in the preceding year. This committee now comprised: Jacob Hagen, John Wright, Thomas Corbyn, Jeremiah Waring, John

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[26] Minutes A, September 15, 1783.

[27] For the efforts of Sharp see Prince Hoare, ed., *Memoirs of Granville Sharp* (London, 1822), I, 270-81.

[28] Minutes B, May 27, 1784.

[29] Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, XVII, 446-7.

Townshend, William Dillwyn, Owen Weston, George Harrison, Daniel Mildred, Richard Chester, Joseph Gurney Bevan, Adey Bellamy, Thomas Wagstaffe, John Coakley Lettsom, and James Phillips.[30]

After attempting to convince the great officers of state and the members of the Royal Family of the injustice of the Trade and to persuade them to abolish it, the Friends endeavored to circularize the gentry and the local influential people in the counties, in order to win over their support and influence in the cause. The Meeting for Sufferings agreed upon a circular letter to Friends of the Quarterly Meetings in the several counties of Great Britain. This letter stated that the Yearly Meeting was desirous of spreading "a just abhorrence of the iniquitous traffic carried on on the coast of Africa for slaves" and was desirous that copies of *The Case* be dispersed in the several counties and places. Therefore a number of *The Case* were enclosed for distribution within the compass of the Quarterly Meeting. The Meeting for Sufferings, on the advice of the Slave Trade Committee, requested that they should be distributed to "Justices of the Peace, Heads of Corporations, Clergymen and such other persons not of our Society as are in a situation which may afford them an opportunity of discouraging the traffic, or by their abilities and influence to diffuse that general detestation thereof, from which we may hope in time for its abolition."[31] This activity illustrates again the non-popular character of the Quaker campaign. It was based not so much upon the anti-democratic feeling that popular opinion was never to be expressed, but rather on the realization that only the political country could prevail upon the legislature to abolish the trade.

The distribution of the copies of *The Case* to the counties was left mainly to the Slave Trade Committee, and lists of names were drawn up for the purpose of aiding distribution. Copies were sent directly to the Justices of the Peace in Kent, Surrey, Essex, and Middlesex.[32] In addition, copies were addressed to various Quaker individuals for disposal in their particular locality. The distribution was conducted also by the Quarterly Meetings. The Slave Trade

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[30] Minutes of London Meeting for Sufferings, June 18, 1784, XXXVII, 65ff.

[31] Ibid., August 27, 1784, pp. 91-3

[32] Minutes B, December 30, 1784.

Committee addressed copies of this pamphlet direct to individuals, whilst the Meeting for Sufferings dispatched copies to the Quarterly Meetings, leaving it for them to decide who would be the most suitable recipients. Five hundred copies of *The Case* were sent to Scotland.[33] A further circular letter requested help in the distribution of Benezet's *Caution and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies* and stated that the success of a labor of this kind depended upon placing them in the hands of proper persons.[34]

As to the success of these efforts the London Meeting for Sufferings informed Philadelphia that the distribution of the pamphlets and books had proceeded satisfactorily and that they had had a good reception, but lamented that "deep rooted ideas of interest however mistaken still silence the call of humanity in many minds."[35]

The Committee continued to meet each week throughout 1785 and 1786. The Yearly Meeting of the former year once more urged that close attention be paid to ensure that no Friends were engaged in the trade. In 1786 the Yearly Meeting noted with satisfaction that few Friends were in any manner connected with it.[36]

The next significant move came in February 1787 when the Committee decided to ask the Meeting for Sufferings to consider whether it was not time to renew their application to the House of Commons.[37] The answer given by the Meeting for Sufferings was in the form of a request for the Committee to frame a petition.[38] But the Committee, after considering the advanced state of public
XXXVII, 379-80.
business in Parliament, and the small possibility of a petition having the desired effect at that juncture, decided to refer the matter back to the Meeting for Sufferings, recommending a delay till the next session of Parliament.[39] Very late in the same year the Meeting for Sufferings again considered the matter and once more re-

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[33] Minutes of London Meeting for Sufferings, December 31, 1784, XXXVII, 124.

[34] Ibid., February 25, 1785, p. 142.

[35] Ibid., February 12, 1785, pp. 245-6.

[36] Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, XVIII, 105.

[37] Minutes B, February 26, 1787.

[38] Minutes of the London Meeting for Sufferings, March 2, 1787,

[39] Minutes B, May 14, 1787.

quested the Committee to draft a petition to Parliament.[40] A week later it was once more advised by the Committee that it was not yet opportune to introduce a petition, but the Committee ordered William Dillwyn, Joseph Hooper, George Harrison, and J. G. Bevan to take that matter under their particular attention and to summon the Committee as soon as it should seem fitting.[41] Why the Committee was so cautious is not clear, for in the following month their policy of waiting was abandoned and William Dillwyn, David Barclay, John Elliot, and John Lloyd were requested to prepare a petition.[42]

This second Quaker petition was signed by the members of the Meeting for Sufferings. It pointed out once more that the African Slave Trade was a commerce "totally repugnant to the principles of justice, the common rights of men, and the dictates of the Christian religion."[43] The petition was presented to the House of Commons by William Mainwaring, member for Middlesex, copies having been privately left with the Prime Minister — William Pitt — and with Charles Wolfran Cornwall, the Speaker.[44] The intention of the Quaker petition was to elicit from the House of Commons a vigorous resolution denouncing the slave trade as being based on injustice and iniquity, the result of which would be a motion for leave to bring in a bill for Abolition. The purpose of the Friends at that time was merely to bring the matter to the attention of the legislature and not to devote energy and resources to pushing a specific measure through Parliament.

In 1789, the Meeting for Sufferings, a short time before the House of Commons was due to consider the slave trade, directed that Friends should lose no time in making application, either personally or by letter, to members of Parliament to whom they had access in order to draw their attention to the important subject about to come before the legislature. Copies of this minute advising solicitation of support were ordered to be printed and distributed

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[40] Minutes of London Meeting for Sufferings, December 28, 1787, XXXVII, 462.

[41] Minutes B, January 4, 1788.

[42] Ibid., January 28, 1788.

[43] Minutes of the London Meeting for Sufferings, February 4, 1788, XXXVII, 473-76.

[44] Ibid., February 15, 1788, p. 485.

throughout the country.[45] Likewise in 1790 a circular was sent to those Friends in Great Britain who were electors, pointing out that, as a General Election was then approaching, Friends who possessed the privilege of voting should carefully inquire whether the candidate of their choice had manifested a disposition to promote the continuance of the slave trade, "for it would be inconsistent with our principles to countenance in any manner, the election of such as are known enemies of a testimony which we believe it our duty to bear to the world."[46]

After the defeat of Wilberforce's motion for abolition in 1791, the Meeting for Sufferings referred the matter back to the Yearly Meeting with a request for instructions as regards further action.[47] The decision of the Yearly Meeting was once more to desire the Meeting for Sufferings to "take such steps by petition or applying to either branch of the legislature, or otherwise, as Truth may from time to time point out to be most consistent with our testimony against that Iniquitous traffic."[48] This was an avowal, by the foremost Committee of the Friends, of their determination to persevere in the campaign despite the crushing Parliamentary defeat of that year. Their interest in the Trade was not one born in the heat of passion in 1788 and 1789; it was a century-old detestation of the traffic, a feeling which was independent of the vicissitudes of the popular campaign.

Consequently, we find that in 1792 the Meeting for Sufferings agreed to a proposal made by the Yearly Meeting to petition the House of Commons to abolish the slave trade. The petition once more pointed out that "a Trade in the persons of men is a violation of the dearest principles of Justice and Religion, which no Commercial advantage can justify." The Friends hoped that by abolition an end would be put both to the sufferings of those who were victims of the Trade and "to a guilt, from which we believe every Briton, however exalted his station, would desire to be free when worldly interest shall loose [sic] its force; and the prospect of eternity be at hand."[49] The petition was presented in the House

[45] Ibid., March 27, XXXVIII, 114-15.
[46] Ibid., June 18, 1790, p. 339.
[47] Ibid., May 6, 1791, p. 444.
[48] Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, XIX, 25.
[49] Minutes of London Meeting for Sufferings, March 16, 1792, XXXIX, 39-42.

of Commons on behalf of the Friends by William Wilberforce, the Parliamentary leader of the Anti-Slave Trade Campaign.[50] Throughout 1792 the Slave Trade Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings took into account each week the subject of the slave trade, though neither they nor the Yearly Meeting of that year could clearly see any further step that could be useful at that moment.

This feeling must have increased, for the Meeting for Sufferings in July 1793 decided to dismiss its Slave Trade Committee. Its decision was expressed in the following minute:

> As it doth not appear that any business hath lately accrued for the Committee on the Slave Trade, or that any immediate step is likely to be taken respecting that calamitous subject, it is concluded to discharge the present Committee; yet it is agreed that the subject shall remain closely under the attention of this meeting, to be revised at each sitting — and it is recommended that every member of the meeting be careful to promote in himself a disposition frequently to sympathize with the unhappy sufferers by the slave trade and to watch for opportunities of being instrumental in promoting the redress of their grievances.[51]

Thus was wound up the Committee which had rendered such signal services during the decade from 1783 to 1793. Its activity was primarily directed towards the task of convincing Members of Parliament and those in office of the necessity of abolition. The membership of the committee comprised some of the leading Quakers of the day and its activity reflected the Quaker technique of lobbying and petitioning. After the formation of the Committee Instituted for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in May 1787, the Quaker committee had continued to exist side by side with its more political counterpart. Of the twelve members of the 1787 Committee at its inception ten were Quakers whilst six of its members—Dillwyn, James Phillips, Hoare, Lloyd, Woods, and Harrison—were members of the Quaker committee. The inspiration of the 1787 Committee was Quaker in origin: the Committee was the political child of a religious mother.

After the matter had been brought to the attention of the legislature, which had been the prime Quaker object, the Friends had little to do with the popular agitation, apart from urging mem-

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[50] Ibid., April 6, 1792, p. 41.
[51] Ibid., July 26, 1793, pp. 313-14.

bers of the Society to consult their Members of Parliament in 1789 and 1790, and the advice in the General Election of 1790 to vote for those candidates who were in favor of abolition. Political activity was left to the 1787 Committee which, with the co-operation of Wilberforce, had taken up the management of the Parliamentary campaign. Despite their long-rooted protestation against the Trade, which was largely independent of the vicissitudes of the popular campaign, the outbreak of war, the red-herring of Jacobinism across the path of any reform, coupled with the failure of the Parliamentary motions for abolition in 1789, 1791, and 1792, doubtless caused the Friends in 1793 to realize that, apart from a formal protest, any form of political activity was hopeless and doomed to failure. This fact must explain the dismissal of the Slave Trade Committee.

Yet the matter was not completely shelved, for the Yearly Meeting in 1793 desired the Meeting for Sufferings to continue its work and to give its attention to the subject of abolition.[52] Each week the Meeting for Sufferings considered the matter, but nothing further was attempted. Eventually in 1797 it was agreed to discontinue the minute respecting the slave trade till something fresh should arise on that subject.[53]

So short a time afterwards as the following year, 1798, it was felt that the time had come for another petition — the third to be presented — and once more to "hold up a public standard against that national iniquity." The petition was worded in much the same way as the other Quaker petitions, but a very pointed reference was made to those demands of necessity and commercial expediency, which it was obvious caused the continuance of the trade:

> It is to be deplored that it should be necessary to urge the extirpation of this cruel trade by any other motive than its own inherent evil, but in these times pregnant with alarms, it surely becomes us, if there be any truth in our professions of trust in the Providence of the Almighty, to endeavour to recommend ourselves to his protection by forebearing to blast the comforts of so large a part of His divine creation.[54]

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[52] Minutes of London Yearly Meeting XIX, 161.

[53] Minutes of London Meeting for Sufferings, September 1, 1797, XL, 168.

[54] Ibid., March 2, 1798, pp. 200-217.

This petition was, like the petition of 1792, presented by William Wilberforce.[55]

Nothing further was done until 1805, when the Yearly Meeting recommended that the Meeting for Sufferings "Seek for strength and opportunity to make public our continual testimony against that cruel traffic." It also recommended another petition if necessary.[56] No petition was presented, though the Meeting for Sufferings continued to consider the Slave Trade weekly once more from April 1805 until April 1807, but with no positive action being taken. In April 1807, after all their great efforts, we find the Meeting for Sufferings modestly and placidly recording in their characteristically undemonstrative manner that an Act for the abolition of the slave trade had passed the legislature on the 25th of March of that year.[57]

The rôle of the Friends in this great moral achievement was that they had consistently labored to convince eighteenth-century society of the unchristian nature of the traffic. Before the trade could be abolished by means of political agitation, the moral and religious implications of its continuance had to be demonstrated. Ignorance and personal interest combined to obscure the real nature of the trade. By 1787 its grotesque barbarity had been revealed, largely as a result of the Friends' persistent petitioning and representations. The scene was now set for a more popular campaign and for parliamentary action. Thus was formed the 1787 Anti-Slave-Trade Committee, with full charge of the parliamentary campaign. It is, however, to be noted that the Quaker element predominated even in this committee.

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[55] Ibid., March 16, 1798, p. 220.

[56] Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, XX, 280-81.

[57] Minutes of London Meeting for Sufferings, April 3, 1807, XLI, 158.

HANNAH KILHAM: FRIEND OF THE FREE

By Elwood Cronk*

Not much is known of the early life of Hannah Kilham. She was the daughter of Peter and Hannah Spurr, and was born in Sheffield, England on September 12, 1774. At the age of fourteen she was sent to Chesterfield to a boarding school. Here she made such progress, particularly in grammar, that it displeased her master, who thought she was overstepping the "bounds of the female province."[1] At the age of nineteen or twenty she became a member of the Methodist Church and, four years later, married Alexander Kilham who died within a year. He was the leader of a group which had broken away from the main Methodist body.

Some time during 1803 she became concerned over slavery, and from that time on would neither eat nor wear anything that had been produced by slave labor. About 1805 or 1806 she joined the Society of Friends, and started a day boarding school, which kept her busy for the next fifteen years. In her spare time she formed a Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor in Sheffield, was active in a group which visited and helped aged females, helped to organize the Sheffield Bible Association, felt a concern to help young women realize a fuller business and domestic life, and prepared an elementary grammar to be used by children who had had little education.

She was keenly interested in missionary work and in 1817 chanced upon an item in a magazine which changed the course of her life. It was a letter to the editor, asking for suggestions as to the best method of preparing a written language for those who had none. She had a particular interest in Sierra Leone — a colony which had been established as a home for former slaves who had been given their freedom under English law. A few weeks after reading this query Hannah Kilham decided that some day she

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[1] *Memoir of the Late Hannah Kilham,* ed. Sarah Biller (London, 1837), p. 2.

would go to Sierra Leone and teach the illiterate former slaves to read. The grammar she had been working on would be just the thing for work of this sort.

It was not until July 1819 that the way opened for her to go to Africa, in the company of two returning missionaries. Her concern for service in Africa was brought before the Monthly Meeting and met with the approval of Friends. The date for sailing was delayed, however, and as it left too little time to get the work done before the rains came, she did not go. Instead she went to London to talk with the missionaries before they sailed. Upon learning of her concern to develop written languages for those who had none, they suggested she search for Africans in England and experiment with their native language.

Early in 1820 a ship arrived from the coast of Gambia. Two of the sailors, whose native language was Wolof, agreed to help her. While learning English, they repeated in their native tongue the names of objects which could be seen—either in real life, or in pictures.

It was her hope to create a vocabulary of at least two hundred words. Her system was entirely phonetic. "Vowels were sounded short in the beginning or middle of the word, or syllable, and long at the end: or when required to be sounded long in the beginning or middle of a syllable, to place a dash over the vowel to show the long sound. The letters *c, q, w, x, y,* and *z* were eliminated from use."[2] The letter *g* in Wolof is always hard. With this exception the consonants used have the same sound as in English. The use of *iu* is for the long sound of the English *u,* as in *duty.* The marked vowel *i* (with a dash over it) supplies the English *y* and *u* serves for the *w* Letters *h* and *k* (each with a dash over it) are added to express the strong guttural sounds of the Wolof language.

Vowels		English	Wolof
a	as in	man	ban
e	as in	men	ben
i	as in	fit	gip
o	as in	not	hob
u	as in	but	fug

[2] Hannah Kilham, *The Claims of West Africa to Christian Instruction through the Native Languages* (London, 1830).

Long sound marked with a dash.

a	as in	ark	fa
e	as in	great	ne
i	as in	field	ji
o	as in	hope	ko
u	as in	truth	nu

The alphabet thus consists of twenty-two letters. The textbook which she wrote contained both English and Wolof in parallel columns. Once the native language was mastered, villagers who spoke different dialects could use the book to learn English as a common language.

Hannah Kilham planned that classes should read the vowels and consonants after their teacher until they knew them. In later lessons pupils would read groups of letters aloud to get used to recognizing each symbol in a variety of surroundings. The same technique was to be used with easy words, phrases, and finally sentences. All students would learn to write as soon as they could read. The following is a sample of some of the early reading material (the special marked letters cannot be reproduced here):

Ne un doh-e.	Let us take a walk.
Mo mar nge-en?	Are you thirsty?
Te-en un-gi.	Here is a well.
Uog ul ndoh.	Draw some water.
Uk-a set!	How clear it is!
Ua-u, ni huh na te sed.	Yes, it is nice and cool.

The reading lessons were designed to be instructive. They included short essays on industry, good use of time, orderliness, cleanliness, goodwill, moderation, kindness, and sincerity, as well as Scriptural quotations and information about farming.

On December 7, 1821, the Committee on the Total Abolition of the Slave Trade discussed school missions as a possible area of service for Friends. They recommended that the matter be brought to the attention of the Meeting for Sufferings. After considerable discussion it was decided by that body that "this meeting does not see its way clear at present to proceed to take any step in relation to the proposal."[3]

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[3] Henry T. Hodgkin, *Friends Beyond Seas* (London, 1916), pp. 24-25n.

However, a small group of concerned Friends formed a committee consisting of William Allen, John Thomas, Barry Peter Bedford, John Capper, Samuel Darton, Josiah Forster Reynolds, and John Sanderson. This committee looked into the possibility of bringing to England representatives from some of the important tribes in Sierra Leone, raised funds, cared for the two natives still working with Hannah Kilham, provided them with further instruction, and arranged for the publication of textbooks.

At last the way was opened for a group to sail for Africa. On October 26, 1823, Hannah Kilham, the two natives, Mahmadee and Sandanee, Richard Smith, and Ann and John Thompson sailed for St. Mary's, Gambia, aboard the *James*. The voyage was a rough one, and there were times when it was feared the ship would sink.

A few days after landing at St. Mary's the party traveled to Birkow to meet the head man of the town who was called the Alcaïde (or alcalde). Mahmadee talked with him, telling of the interest which his friends felt in the education of children—both in their own county, and in Africa. They believed, he said, that it was "the will of the great Parent of all, that [children] should be taught what is good in early life, and brought up in the ways of peace, and love and goodwill to all." The commandant then told the Alcaide that Friends were people who never fight, "but who desire to do good, and that we had left all our near and dear connections to come to Africa." For the moment, at least, the Alcaide was not particularly impressed, for he remarked that "white men come into their land and build good houses for themselves, he wished they would build one for him."[4]

School began on January 5, 1824. One class had eight students, while another, held in the court house, had thirty-five. Hannah Kilham had eight women pupils in her class of girls, some of whom brought their children. The children made such a disturbance that it was suggested the women take turns caring for them while the others came to class.

An important factor in any missionary effort is the attitude with which it is undertaken. Hannah Kilham made a number of interesting observations on this point. She wrote: "It is not philosophy, it is not policy, that can save Africa, and make her happy. It is the prevalence of Christian influence and Christian feeling;

[4] *Memoir*, p. 185.

not the outward forms, in the way in which they are often dwelt upon." She recognized the effect which intense heat and hard labor had on the people, and wanted to help them in every way she could. Realizing that they did not have the advantages of an early and long education behind them, she was quite prepared to go slowly, and did not become impatient for quick results. A good instructor did not waste time telling others they were doing wrong, but rather showed by "example and precept" how one should walk through life.

Hannah Kilham soon discovered that many of the people were as interested in learning better methods of agriculture as they were in learning to read. Richard Smith and John Thompson were particularly interested in this aspect of the work. One of her hopes for the future was to have a model farm attached to each school. Here the better methods of farming could be taught and demonstrated. The men could also be taught something about mechanics and the girls various domestic skills

It was her hope that the day would come when the Africans themselves would carry on the program of educating the illiterates. She made one suggestion that anticipated the "Each one teach one" principle of Frank Laubach. Looking to the future, she said of one school, "I would like . . . to provide each child in Charlotte who can read, and will teach another to read, with a little book and short lesson for the purpose. When the young teacher can show that the pupil has acquired the art, I would then give the former a copy of infant school-hymns, or the Cottage Hymn book, as may be best suited to the age and state of the party."[5] She discovered a pupil in Portuguese Town who was teaching his father to read.

She returned to England on August 13, 1824. She had worked under difficult conditions during her short stay. The heat was oppressive, and the sudden temperature changes of up to thirty degrees were hard to bear. The months that followed were taken up with her translations and the usual large number of concerns.

On December 9, 1827 she sailed again for Africa, landed at Freetown in the colony of Sierra Leone, and stopped to view the Eastern School, which had about two hundred students. The Freetown Western School was even larger; one of the teachers here, a native named George Fox, had been educated in England. This

[5] Ibid., pp. 372-373.

visit lasted barely a month, however, because of serious attack of malaria.

On October 17, 1830 she sailed once again for Africa. Shortly after her arrival at Freetown, she called upon the Governor to get permission to open a school for the completely illiterate children who were being landed there from the slave ships. He was eager to have her try out the short vocabulary methods, and they proved to be very successful. At Bathurst there was a book stall which sold "picture lesson sheets, Gilbert's Infant School Hymns, Easy Reading, Tables of easy words on sheets, and First Principles of the Christian Religion," proceeds from which were turned over to the African account. Her years of labor had not been in vain. With the help of friends she had produced a textbook containing thirty of the main dialects spoken in Sierra Leone.

On March 31, 1832, while on shipboard between Liberia and Sierra Leone, Hannah Kilham passed away and was buried at sea. She had ventured forth into the unknown—to a new land, among a strange people. She lived and died that free men might have a chance to live in dignity. Friends said of her, "There was a singleness of eye, and sincerity of purpose, as well as an humility of deportment in all that she did. . . . Worn, but never weary; faint, yet pursuing, she continued patient in well-doing to the end: for when the flesh was weakest the spirit was most willing. . . ."[6]

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[6] Ibid., p. 483

CULTURAL RESOURCES OF QUAKER PIONEERS IN OHIO

A Glimpse of the Home Community of Marcus Mote, Artist

By Opal Thornburg*

In the autumn of 1802, five months before Ohio became a state, the tide of Quaker immigration from the South into the great Northwest Territory reached the virgin wilderness along the Stillwater River, the west branch of the Little Miami, from which was derived the name of West Branch Monthly Meeting of Friends. These Quakers came primarily from Deep River Monthly Meeting in North Carolina, Bush River Monthly Meeting in South Carolina, and Wrightsboro Monthly Meeting in Georgia. From Bush River and Wrightsboro they continued to come in such numbers that hardly a Quaker was left there by 1809. Isaac Hasket who built the doomed Bush River Meetinghouse in 1798 helped to build in 1818 the brick meetinghouse at West Branch which stood for nearly a century.

Among the leading families in the West Branch community were the Motes and the Mendenhalls, whose many branches soon scattered over the countryside and forty miles westward to Richmond, Indiana. David Mote and Caleb Mendenhall, father and maternal grandfather respectively of the Quaker artist Marcus Mote (born 1817), were pillars of the community. David sat at the head of West Branch meeting for thirty years. For two decades Caleb was a power in the meeting, until he withdrew with the Hicksite Separation in 1828.

David Mote's opportunities for schooling had been limited, but he had made good use of his occasional brief periods in the Monthly Meeting schools and he knew the common rudiments. Nevertheless he felt the lack of literary knowledge and resolved that his children should have a better education than his own. Caleb Mendenhall likewise had little formal education, but he was the

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community's standard for taste and refinement. Of a quiet nature, he read much and encouraged reading in others.

The general level of education in the average pioneer settlement was higher than one might think. R. C. Buley states: "Certainly the pioneers' knowledge of geography, history, economics, and mathematics was no more hazy than that of the average citizen of today."[1] In the understanding and practice of government Buley considers them superior. The level of education in any of the early Quaker communities was well above the average. Each such settlement lost no time in opening schools providing a "guarded education" not only in the elementary subjects but in the higher branches.

The first settlers along the Stillwater had hardly roofed their cabins before a movement was started for a public library. Funds were to be raised by selling shares at $3.00, and a share each for a start was readily sold to Caleb Mendenhall, David Mote, and three others, augmented later by shares from their neighbors. Soon after 1828 Friends of West Branch established a Monthly Meeting library. At the beginning it was largely of Quaker books and tracts, but other carefully chosen books were added frequently, so that in time it became an excellent library for their young people.

The nature of the books and the scope of knowledge to which the Quaker boy and girl in this community had access before 1830 is indicated by a statement of David Jones, born in 1815:

> As soon as I was old enough I was sent to subscription schools at West Branch. I had an almost insatiable thirst for knowledge, and read and studied every useful book I could get. I read "Robinson Crusoe" and "Pilgrim's Progress" when 8 or 9 years old. . . . Having access to an excellent library I read the works of great authors such as Homer, Virgil, Milton, Pope, Thomson, Young, Cowper and other poets. I also read the works of that intellectual giant Dr. Johnson, with great interest; Goldsmith's "History of the Earth and Animated Nature" delighted me. The "Spectator" I considered of great value, particularly Addison's writings. These books with many others not named I had read in part, and with thoroughness, before reaching 15 years of age.[2]

How many boys of the present day have read a comparable list of books by the time they are fifteen?

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[1] R. Carlyle Buley, *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815-1840* (Indianapolis, 1950) II, 328

[2] *The History of Miami County* (Chicago, 1880), p. 831.

The subscription schools at West Branch were held in the meetinghouse from 1808 until 1835, when a brick schoolhouse was built three-fourths of a mile northwest of the meetinghouse. The new schoolhouse had one room, 18 by 24 feet. During the summer there was a session for the younger children, while the older ones helped their parents until the winter session. When time for Fourth-day Meeting came the students went in a body from the school to the meetinghouse.

The books used were probably Webster's Speller, Lindley Murray's Reader and Grammar, Pike's Arithmetic, and the American Preceptor, all of which were in common use in other pioneer communities. By the late 1830's McGuffey's Readers were available. Copybooks consisted of a few sheets of foolscap sewed together. Booklets so made were among the papers left by Marcus Mote at his death. Pens were fashioned from goose quills. An inkstand might be made from a section of cow's horn with a wooden, lead, or pewter bottom.

The first teacher at West Branch had been William Neal, followed by James Howe from Bush River, South Carolina, a Londoner related to the Revolutionary War general William Howe. He was an incomparable penman who was in demand for writing birth records and marriage certificates. During the war of 1812 the school was not held regularly and the list of teachers is incomplete. Charles Mills taught in 1817 and 1820, Daniel H. Jones and Davis W. Thayer in the intervening years. In 1821 David Mote became the teacher. He was succeeded by Thomas Adams, who had come from the East. Though a superior scholar, who drew the largest number of students up to that time, he was a poor disciplinarian. The first teacher of Marcus Mote was probably Charles Mills, who returned in 1823 for a third year. Educated in the Bush River community, he taught school for forty years and some of his students at West Branch were children of his former students at Bush River. He wrote an excellent hand, and no doubt gave Marcus the foundation and the example whereby he himself later taught penmanship and wrote marriage certificates. Mills soon brought order to the school, at the same time winning respect.

In the next two years Marcus had as teachers Jacob Angle, who was a New Yorker, and Daniel H. Jones, who was said to be "rather an extraordinary man, a kind of universal genius, a me-

chanic, mathematician, surveyor and poet."[3]

David Mote taught the school again in 1826 and 1828, so that Marcus, when nine and eleven years old, had his own father as his teacher. In the intervening year the school was taught by Marcus' uncle, Gardner Mendenhall, himself a former student at West Branch. One day, while at the schoolhouse, he lost nearly all his corn crop when five wagons from Troy hauled it away to satisfy a fine for refusing to take part in a militia muster.

In the remaining years that Marcus Mote attended school in the meetinghouse the teachers were Alexander L. Wilson, James Hanks who was a land surveyor, and W. B. Jones of South Carolina, who taught for two years and inaugurated a system of giving tickets of award for good standing. During the year 1834-35, while West Branch was building its brick schoolhouse, the only school held within the limits of the meeting was one in the neighborhood of South Fork, which had a term of four months.

Living in a raw settlement in a new land, Quakers saw the disorder of the wilderness. Through neighborhood conversations and the newspapers they were acquainted with the struggle to bring order into state and national government. In contrast, the Quaker world was orderly and civilized. Through its meeting each Quaker community maintained regular and close contact with other Quaker communities within the Quarterly Meeting and the Yearly Meeting. Between the several Yearly Meetings in America there was much visitation, and visitors were exchanged even with Yearly Meetings in the British Isles. Thus Friends in mid-America felt a kinship and constant relationship with Friends in Baltimore, in Philadelphia, in London.

Neither were they in intellectual isolation. Through the books available to them they were acquainted with the romantic liberalism of the eighteenth century. True, their Quaker faith had restrictions, but the cardinal principle of that faith held the key to the liberation of such a boy as Marcus Mote for art—the belief in "that of God in every man," that God may reveal himself to the individual without intermediary, and therefore individual man is entitled to respect. Although the Quaker meeting of that day disapproved of the artist, who could be sure that the artist had not also heard the word of God, a word not yet revealed to others? Therefore con-

[3] Ibid., p. 358.

demnation had at least a grain of forbearance, and within this narrow limit Marcus could work.

In a pioneer community there was little place for the fine arts; in fact, small need was felt for them. Music in such a community consisted in general of hymns and folk songs, but these were not to be heard among the Quakers, who banned music in meetinghouse and school as a vanity and a degrading influence. Not even in the home could it be indulged. Their only music was that of the birds, the winds, and the cadences of speech. Many of the old Quakers, in fact, developed a manner of speaking in prayer or sermon approaching song. Thus to intone in meeting was altogether acceptable and, whatever the intent, it added interest and color to the proceedings.

Poetry fared a little better. The unrhymed poems of the Bible were not thought of as poetry. Poems having rhyme and metre were generally acceptable if of a religious or moral nature. The poems coming to the attention of young Quakers were more likely than not to be of that kind.

The Quakers were deprived of even the folk dances of the usual pioneer community. Men and boys, singly or in groups, sometimes expressed high spirits by an odd activity called by others "the Quaker dance." By Quakers it was called "the crowhop." It required a vigor and muscular coordination which made it more a feat than a dance, though it is seen in some of the dances of Russia. A "dancer" would squat on one foot with the other thrust before him, then rise slightly to reverse his legs, sinking on the other foot, and continuing this exercise as long as he could keep his balance or his wind.

The only glimpse of the Quaker youth into a profane world was through newspapers, which were not subject to the usual screening by the elders. The news sheets of that day were meager, customarily only a four-page weekly in the smaller communities and only a four-page daily in Cincinnati, the metropolis of the Ohio valley. The greater part of two pages was likely to be used for advertisements, a column or two of a third page for local news, and the balance for news farther afield. On the remaining page appeared stories (sometimes serialized), essays, and poems. Thus the newspaper served also the function of a magazine.

Among the personal papers left by Marcus Mote and preserved by his family until eventually they were procured by the Earlham College library are two curious manuscripts or scrapbooks,

partly hand-printed and partly in script. A part of the contents of one and most of the contents of the other consist of poems, anecdotes, short essays, and miscellaneous facts copied from various publications. The chief source was the newspapers of the day, as indicated by an index of sources. West Milton, the nearest village, had no newspaper, and the list reveals the periodicals available and used by that Quaker community: *Atkinson's Evening Post, Saturday Courier, Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), *Dayton Watchman* (Ohio), *Xenia Free Press* (Ohio), *The Friend* (Philadelphia). One poem is from Young's "Night Thoughts."

Prominent among the miscellaneous contents of Marcus Mote's schoolboy manuscripts are brief anecdotes, couplets, quatrains or longer poems, riddles, and epigrams. Some of these refer to things British and have a *Punch*-like flavor, misleading since *Punch* did not begin publication until 1841. It seems likely that further research might reveal the source as a contemporary British periodical from which Midwestern newspaper editors drew for their magazine pages.

As indicated, there were barren areas in the cultural resources of a pioneer Quaker community such as that on the Stillwater River in the valley of the Little Miami, some because it was pioneer and others because it was Quaker. But such communities could and did grow men and women whose education was adequate for their times, and whose cultural level was in general superior.

Notes and Documents

LEIBNIZ AND THE QUAKERS

By Nicholas Rescher*

Early in the life of the Society of Friends, within a decade of George Fox's death, a keen and profound mind passed critical judgment upon Quakerism. A notice was written and was filed away amidst a mass of personal papers to pass — almost — into oblivion. Its author was Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.

Leibniz was born in 1648, the son of a professor of law at Leipzig in Germany. His adult life was spent in the service of the court of Hannover, as diplomat, courtier, official historian, and royal librarian. This minor civil servant was the foremost man of learning of his day and one of the greatest minds of all time. Among his contemporaries only Newton rivaled him as mathematician and only Spinoza as philosopher. Co-inventor of the calculus and author of the system of monads, Leibniz was a truly universal genius. He wrote a history which drew praise from Gibbon, constructed a calculating machine, wrote one of the first systematic treatises on geology, fathered an abortive but influential project for the reunion of the Catholic and Protestant Churches, anticipated the Principle of Least Action in physics, and instigated the founding of the Prussian Academy of Sciences at Berlin.

Leibniz thought pen in hand. When a new idea came, he made a memorandum; when he cogitated, he wrote drafts; when he read, he made notes. And it has been truly said of him that he was unaware of the function of a wastebasket. He could not bring himself to discard any piece of paper that bore writing. Leibniz's papers — largely unpublished to the present day — were preserved in the Royal Library in Hannover. In sheer magnitude they would, if printed in entirety, amount to roughly half of the *Encyclopedia Britannica.*

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Thanks to this combination of circumstances, we are in an unique position as regards Leibniz's ideas. There is no thinker of note whose thought-process can be traced in comparable detail, or whose views regarding any matter within his notice can be as readily determined. In particular, we owe it to Leibniz's unique literary habits that we are able to determine his view regarding the Society of Friends.

In 1677 George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith, and some others undertook a journey through Holland and Germany to "publish truth" on the Continent. In consequence of this journey, copies of Barclay's *Apology* (in the Latin version printed at Amsterdam in 1676) were distributed among the peace negotiators then meeting at Nijmwegen to end the war between Holland and France. Leibniz—following developments at this conference with a view to Hannoverian state interests—thus became acquainted with Barclay's book. He read it, and, as was his wont, prepared a brief précis. This reading of Barclay's *Apology* was, in all likelihood, Leibniz's first contact with Quakerism.

In Germany, the Quaker visit of 1677 bore fruit. Interest and enthusiasm were generated. The Countess Palatine Elizabeth (sister of Leibniz's patron, the Electress Sophia of Hannover) commented to Penn that history was repeating itself and that Germany was once again being Christianized from England. Her foundation at Herford became a Quaker center.

Leibniz was aware of these happenings, for he followed the religious developments of his day with interest and care. Thus he read Penn's *Account of . . . Travails in Holland and Germany* (1694) not long after its appearance. As was his habit, he wrote out his reflections in a French commentary, of which he made several drafts, a practice not uncommon with him. These were preserved among the Leibniz papers at Hannover, resting unheeded for some two and one-half centuries. In 1948 they were printed in an edition of hitherto unedited Leibniz material published by the French scholar Gaston Grua.[1] An English version of the most extensive draft of Leibniz's comments on Penn's *Account* has been appended at the end of this article.

For proper understanding of this commentary it is necessary

[1] G. W. Leibniz, *Textes Inédits* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948) I, 88-93.

to bear in mind the character of Leibniz's contact with Quakerism. He had no personal contact whatever with Friends. His only knowledge of their beliefs is "notional," derived from a reading of Barclay and Penn, supplemented by some second- or third-hand reports, usually by persons not in sympathy with Friends. (For example, one of Leibniz's friends and correspondents, F. M. van Helmont, a man of wide interests and learning, had lived in England for a time and had briefly been a member of the Society of Friends. He was an impatient spirit, and soon fell out of sympathy with them. He passed on to Leibniz a malicious rumor that Penn's management of Pennsylvania was that of a petty tyrant. Leibniz, for want of better information, accepted this report at face value.)

Let us now turn to the criticisms which Leibniz directs at the Society of Friends in his commentary on Penn's *Account.* These criticisms amount to four points:

1) The Quakers set themselves apart from other people in their actions, particularly as regards the rendering of customary honors.
2) They do not express themselves in the common manner, but use an esoteric, "peculiar" terminology.
3) In their religious approach they are enthusiasts, and place weight upon the non-intellectual, emotional, and mystical element in religious experience.
4) In consonance with their de-emphasis of intellect, the Quakers slight learning and undervalue natural science.

The first of these criticisms stems from insufficient appreciation of the conditions which gave birth to Quakerism. It did not begin as a new theological position, a new creed, but as a protest against the shallowness and insincerity diffused throughout contemporary English society and increasingly reflecting itself in the irrelevance of religion to the life of the people. This tendency markedly manifested itself in surface adherence to customary forms and practices, devoid of personal significance and involvement, and contrary to religious commitments. Quaker rejection of some of the common practices of the time was not an idle eccentricity, but a protest, a symbol of religious seriousness for which the price of public contumely and official oppression was exacted and paid.

Little weight need be accorded to the second criticism. It fails to give due recognition to the now well-recognized difficulty of giving adequate expression to any intensely personal experience,

and that of the religious mystic above all. It is a familiar fact that the common language of everyday use does not provide the mystic —or the artist, for that matter—with a medium capable of giving expression to his experience. To this all varieties of religious mysticism bear witness.

Leibniz's third criticism is revealing primarily as to the personal characteristics of its author. Rather than illustrating any actual defect of contemporary Quakerism, it expresses the wholly rational and intellectual attitude characteristic of Leibniz's approach to all departments of life and thought. This rationalism is a familiar feature of Leibniz's philosophical system. His style of thought was thoroughly rational and intellectual; it precluded all possibility of a sympathetic appreciation of anything bordering on mysticism. Leibniz's interest in religious matters, his learning in the history of religions, and his thorough familiarity with the manifold religious happenings of his day, did not alter matters in this respect. His own experience simply provided no basis for an understanding of a faith derived from the heart rather than the head. The possibility was thus denied him of comprehending the religious movements containing elements of mysticism and enthusiasm which were making great stir in his time—not Quakerism alone, but also such developments as the Pietism of Spener or the Quietism of Molinos. These facts must be kept in mind in reading Leibniz's comments on Penn's *Account.*

We come, finally, to Leibniz's fourth criticism of the Quakers. This criticism comes closest to being merited, for unlike the rest it has some foundation and is justified at least in part. As their writings show, early Friends tended to view scientific study and secular learning in general as undeserving of serious pursuit, if not as actually incompatiable with a devotional life. For example, we find in Barclay's *Apology* the disparaging contrast between "saving heart knowledge, and the soaring, airy head knowledge," (though in another passage Barclay recommends botany and mathematics as "innocent divertisements" for the mind). Isaac Penington admonishes the person seeking to know the things of God to abandon faith in "fleshly wisdom," in "reasoning or disputing," for "these are the weapons wherewith the witness is slain."

In the evolution of the thought of the Society of Friends, this attitude has been constantly on the wane since the revolutionary,

enthusiastic period of the founders. Few Friends will today take exception to the statement of the London Yearly Meeting *Report on Religious Education* (1923) that "Simple and unlettered devotion is a splendid thing; sincerity and a tender spirit are of the very best; but no gifts of mind can be neglected with impunity."

The spirit of this passage accords closely with the sentiment penned by Leibniz in 1695: "To be sure, religion and piety do not depend upon profound knowledge, for they must lie within the reach of even the simplest men. But those to whom God has given the time and the means of understanding Him better—and consequently of loving Him with a more enlightened love—should not neglect such opportunities, nor, consequently, should they neglect the study of nature." In its views of the value of learning and of scientific enquiry, the thought of the Society of Friends was not—fortunately—long in coming into harmony with the opinion of its early and distinguished critic.

Leibniz's Comments on *An Account of William Penn's Travails in Holland and Germany* (1694)

The account of the journey which the celebrated Quakers Robert Barclay and William Penn and their companions made in Germany and in Holland in 1677, printed in English along with some related matter, seems to me to be very useful for various purposes, but above all for understanding different types of human nature, and for showing the power of religion upon men when it manifests itself in a pronounced fashion. It even seems that these men assume a shadow or imitation of the conduct of the apostles in the beginnings of the church. However, I find here this important difference, among others, that the early Christians exhibited a greater simplicity in their behavior and more effectiveness in improving their hearers. One sees in the Gospels and in the Epistles of the Apostles, and in [the writings of] such apostolic men as Saint Clement and Saint Barnabas, whose *Epistles* have only recently been recovered, a manner of expression which is more natural and nonetheless very forceful. But in this book everything written by William Penn seems to me to be written with too much artifice and guardedness, in terms which are artificial and mysterious, and which smack too much of partisanship and of intent to lord it over others, without our finding here enough wherewith to profit by some useful doctrine. The letters by this author which are

published here are of the same character, full of great words which do not actually explain anything. I do not know if he or his associates have said something more real in their assemblies or *Meetings* which are so much discussed. But I am afraid that the whole matter is only a way of arousing emotions by extraordinary ways of acting and speaking, a game, so to speak, of an overheated and infectious imagination, as certain preachers are able to bring their audience to tears, or as certain pieces of music can carry people away.

I should not disapprove of these ways of placing emphasis upon things which are good, if I found them accompanied by a clear and luminous doctrine, like that of Jesus Christ and the Apostles, and by the practice of true charity, like that noted in the early Christians. The ideas which Christ has given us regarding God are great, but they are also clear. He taught us that God has the care of all things, and that all is accounted for by Him, down to the very hairs upon our heads; that those who love Him will be happy eternally; that we need fear none but Him, for He alone has power over souls; that even the smallest good action shall have its reward, down to the glass of water given in kindness to a thirsty man; and that we should thus rely upon His providence, after doing our duty. And in enjoining us to love above all things the great God Whom he has depicted as so good and so deserving of love, and after Him to love our neighbor as ourselves, Christ fuses together theory and practice. So that today, when providence has enriched our age with so many new insights derived from the marvelous discoveries which have been made regarding nature, and which reveal its beauties more and more, one should profit by them, applying them to the ideas of God which Jesus Christ has given us. For nothing could better mark the perfection of our divine Maker than the striking beauties which are to be found in His works. It seems to me that the majority of those who lay claim to great spirituality, the Quakers in particular, try to convey a distaste for the study of the truths of nature. In my opinion they should do the very contrary if they do not wish to encourage our human laziness and ignorance.

True love is based upon a knowledge of the beauty of the loved object. Thus the beauty of God is apparent in the wonders of the effects of this supreme cause. Therefore, the better one understands nature and knows the solid truths of the natural sciences—which are like so many rays of divine perfection—the greater is

one's capacity truly to love God. Jesus Christ having laid the true foundations of the love of God upon things which are the common knowledge of all men, it remains with us to strengthen day by day these great ideas by means of the new insights into nature which God has given us expressly for this purpose. We should be ungrateful, did we not profit by His gifts. To be sure, religion and piety do not depend upon profound knowledge, for they must lie within the reach of even the simplest men. But those to whom God has given the time and the means of understanding Him better—and consequently of loving Him with a more enlightened love—should not neglect such opportunities, nor, consequently, should they neglect the study of nature. Those who seek to discourage men from this upon the pretext of some vaunted "light," which consists only in heated imagination, leave solid ground for the sake of chimeras and indulge our indolence.

Knowledge of the greatness of God and of the signs of His goodness and wisdom consists primarily in the contemplation of the marvelous order which manifests itself in all things in proportion to our penetration to their foundation. It is clear that the love of God and of the divine order flowing from Him makes us try to conform ourselves to this order and to that which is best. Therefore wise men are never dissatisfied with a past occurrence, realizing that this is of necessity the best. However, they work towards making the future—insofar as they can—as good as possible, knowing that if they fail in this respect, it will not be the general order or harmony which loses out, but we ourselves, since we will be the less in accord with it. For this reason, the more one loves God, the more one will try in one's own way to participate in the divine perfections distributed throughout nature, and especially in the happiness of those men who are the best we know, contributing to our own instruction and to that of others. For truest happiness consists uniquely in a continued succession of joys proceeding from divine love or in the contemplation of the real beauties of the divine nature. This internal satisfaction and this inexpressible pleasure born of a knowledge of divine and eternal truth enables one to detach himself easily from vain, worldly things and from everything transient. A person who has entered into this puts all his effort into sharing this happiness with others, for in this way he himself best participates in the general good and in the harmony of the great world-order.

It is true that the Quakers and others of similar convictions seem to work towards such detachment from the vanities of this world. But all that they say regarding self-denial, privation, and silence, using many beautiful expressions, can only be solid if it reduces to a preference of the general good and of the greatest signs of the divine perfection over all consideration of the things of this world. If anything else is intended, it is but caprice or chimera. Several among them [i.e., the Quakers] seem to have sound views, but they are lacking in true enlightenment, putting themselves to strange doings which inspire emotions more than they promote understanding. It is a pity that their zeal is not accompanied by more knowledge and perhaps also by more common charity. And they should lay aside such useless and affected practices as the rejection of rendering the honors and using the expressions commonly accepted among civilized peoples, which can serve no other end than to give them a singular character. In place of this, true charity should keep us away from anything merely sectarian, which increases divisions among people.

Quaker Research in Progress

The following list of current or recent studies in Quaker history continues the series of such notices appearing regularly in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete, but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information concerning other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania.

John Edgar Berry, 317 Fifth Street, Huntington Beach, California. The Rosy Quakers of Eldorado. (A textual comparison of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques,* I-IV and *Candide,* chapters 17-18, with some observations.)

Robert Davison, 141-10 25 Road, Flushing, New York. Isaac Hicks (1767-1820), Quaker Merchant. New York University; American Civilization, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

Emily Butler Fear (deceased,). South African Quaker Records. (Local records and references to visiting Friends, collected at the request of Cape Monthly Meeting and South Africa General Meeting in 1932.) Typescript copy in Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library.

Theodore D. Graves, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. The Awakening of Young Friends. (Based on Young Friends records in Earlham College Library.) Earlham College.

Earl G. Harrison, Jr., Moylan-Rose Valley, Pennsylvania. Quakerism and the Ecumenical Movement. (1. A Historical Perspective; 2. The Quest for Unity from Within; 3. The Society of Friends and the World Council of Churches.) Yale Divinity School.

Albert D. Mott, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley, California. The Phenomenon of Ranterism in Seventeenth-Century England. (A study in the definition of the Inward Light, 1640-1660.) University of California; History, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1955.

Richard James Oman, 223 Brown Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey. William Penn: A Study in the Quaker Doctrine of Political Authority. University of Edinburgh; Church History, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

Helen Batchelor Petrullo, 118 Roosevelt Avenue, Syracuse 10, New York. A comparison of Dryden's attitude towards Dissenters (particularly Quakers) and the Quakers' attitude towards themselves during the Restoration. Syracuse University; English.

E. A. Otto Peetz, 43 St. Giles', Oxford, England. Friends Mission Work in Madagascar to 1927: Its Doctrinal Implications. (An attempt to clarify

the position of English Friends towards missionary and ecumenical problems.) University of Oxford; Theology, thesis for B. Litt. degree, 1954.

Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1630 Latimer Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Hannah Penn. (Her letters and a biographical sketch.) Letters being sought.

John B. Pickard, 59 Dalton Road, Newton Centre, Massachusetts. The Artistry of John Greenleaf Whittier. (A study of Whittier's critical theory and its application as seen in his imagery, prose style, ballads, and regional poems.) University of Wisconsin; English thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1954.

Alan Maxwell Rees, Department of History, Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio. The American Campaign for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. (To include a study of the part played by Friends and other religious groups in the campaign.) Ohio State University; History, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

David Benbow Stafford, Guilford College, North Carolina. Sociocultural Change and Quakerism. (A case study in the functional sociology of religion in terms of reference-group theory.) Duke University; Sociology and Anthropology, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1955.

Sina F. Stanton (and Julia R. Sharpless), 4815 Battery Lane, Washington 14, D. C. History of Friends Meeting of Washington. (Antecedents of Friends Meetings in Washington, followed by a full account of the movement which resulted in the formation of an independent meeting in 1930 and the building of the meetinghouse at 2111 Florida Avenue.)

Richard E. Stenhouse, 360 West 122nd Street, New York, N. Y. The Mysticism of Isaac Penington and His Concept of the Seed. Haverford College; Philosophy, thesis for M.A. degree, 1950.

Edward P. Thatcher, 1812 Villard Street, Eugene, Oregon. Quakers and Western Exploration, 1800-1850. (Wistar, J. K. Townsend, T. Say, J. Cassin, and the naming of western plant and animal species.)

Henry van Etten, Route 1, Box 279 G2, Absecon, New Jersey. *George Fox et les Quakers.* To be published in Paris (Editions du Seuil), 1955 or 1956.

Historical News

Friends Historical Association

THE SPRING MEETING of Friends Historical Association was held at London Grove Meetinghouse, near Toughkenamon, Pennsylvania, on Fifth Month 21, 1955, Henry J. Cadbury presiding. Arthur E. James, President of the Chester County Historical Society and author of books on Chester County potters and clockmakers, spoke on "Some Chester County Quaker Craftsmen, 1750-1850," regaling his audience with a series of entertaining and informative anecdotes from his unequaled store of knowledge on this subject. After the address, Anna P. Webb, Clerk of London Grove Monthly Meeting, was called upon for some informal remarks on the history of the meetinghouse, which was built in 1818 on a generous scale to accommodate Quarterly Meeting Friends.

From Quaker Libraries

Two groups of Yarnall family letters have lately been placed in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. The smaller one comprises a number of letters of Mordecai Yarnall (1705-1772) mostly written during a visit in the ministry to England in 1757-58. These letters vividly illustrate the hazards of wartime travel in the eighteenth century. Mordecai's ship was taken by a French privateer after a six-hour chase, was retaken in the Bay of Biscay five days later by a British privateer, and then, within sight of England, was recaptured by another French vessel. After being imprisoned at St. Malo for several days, the passengers were finally allowed to proceed to England. Mordecai Yarnall calmly writes his wife that he must delay a few days before setting out on his gospel service "to get my clothes washed and some new ones made"—for, having been twice plundered, his wardrobe was depleted. He even remarks that his health has been improved by his sea voyage! The other group of letters was written by Mordecai Yarnall's grandson Peter Yarnall (1790-1878), who settled in Ohio early in the nineteenth century. His letters, written to his sister Rebecca in Columbia, Pennsylvania, are full of details of pioneer life.

Book Reviews

Nathan Trotter: Philadelphia Merchant, 1787-1853. By Elva Tooker, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1955. xvii, 276 pages. $6.00.

Through a City Archway: The Story of Allen and Hanburys, 1715-1954. By Desmond Chapman-Huston and Ernest C. Cripps. London: John Murray. 1954. xv, 326 pages. 25 shillings.

Elva Tooker's *Nathan Trotter: Philadelphia Merchant, 1787-1853,* the eighteenth volume of the Harvard Studies in Business History, examines the career of a successful Quaker businessman. Nathan Trotter started in 1803 as an assistant to his older brother, William, who imported such British manufactures as leather goods, textiles, and metals. He became the firm's head upon his brother's death in 1815. Under Nathan's guidance the house concentrated on metal wholesaling, the line still followed by Nathan Trotter and Company today. Much of Trotter's personal fortune, however, which amounted to $958,540 on his death, had been made by investing his capital in securities, real estate, and the discounting of commercial paper.

Trained and guided by N. S. B. Gras, Edwin F. Gay, and Henrietta Larson, Harvard's pre-eminent business historians, the author knew the useful questions to ask of her material. The role of managerial policy, the adjustment of the firm to an evolving economic system, the performance of the company as a profit-maker, are some of the topics analyzed and made more comprehensible by appropriate statistical tables. Miss Tooker, who has been working since 1937 on one of the largest collections of business records available for this period, has, in 212 pages of text, judiciously and competently digested the raw data from over 1,100 bound volumes and nearly 200 boxes of miscellaneous items of company records.

Though not a Quaker, Elva Tooker notes the influence of Trotter's Quaker heritage upon his conduct. In business, he was demonstrably reliable, industrious, orderly, honest, and prudent. He held his living expenses abstemiously to a relatively fixed figure, close to $3000 a year, although his ever-increasing income was to make him a millionaire. The money not spent was, of course, plowed back into his "productive" enterprises. This much of the story may remind Friends of the injunctions of Fox and early Quakers to heed one's earthly calling, to be frugal, and to shun diversions. On the other hand, Friends may not be thoroughly satisfied with the orientation of the author and editors, which so highly values the social usefulness of Trotter's function as an entrepreneur. Most readers will find Trotter neither a very interesting, nor a very noble, nor, except in his family life, a very lovable man; many will feel that Trotter reduces to an abstraction, an "economic man," grinding away like a profit-making machine.

Perhaps a more important part of the Quaker heritage failed to be realized in this businessman's life. "Trotter gave some time, though not very

much, to matters which were not connected with his family or profits. Nathan served for one year, 1817-1818, as Guardian of the Poor. . . . Trotter did his duty as he saw it, but during his lifetime he gave relatively little to charity and at his death he left his entire fortune to his wife and children." At least the more charming, wealthy Quaker merchants of colonial Pennsylvania spent some of their money during their lives on fine private libraries and on the charities which made the "holy experiment" famous.

Through a City Archway: The Story of Allen and Hanburys, contrasts sharply in tone and purpose with the American book. Its style, moralizing and discursive, will delight some readers, reminiscent as it is of a distant era in which both reader and writer had leisure. Ostensibly an historical account of a Quaker drug firm, the book is in actuality a catch-all of biographical sketches, observations on the manners of the eighteenth century, and assorted bits of pharmaceutical lore. Almost never do the authors trouble themselves with anything suggestive of business history. By far the most interesting part of this compound is the eighty-odd-page life of the distinguished English Friend, William Allen. Only a fraction of Allen's energies were absorbed by his business; the major portion was devoted to pioneering experiments in scientific research and to a variety of philanthropic concerns. Truly, a world of difference separated the two Quaker businessmen, William Allen and Nathan Trotter, the one so personable, so sensitive to his social responsibilities, the other so grubbily narrow in his interests.

Lacking a conceptual framework to guide their research the authors of this book have produced only a superficial chronicle—however readable parts of it may be. Though a host of fascinating problems are suggested by the material, no causal analysis is offered. The reader is left to infer the extent to which religious considerations guided the policy of the company, although the authors assert that "to be born a Quaker was . . . a piece of good fortune . . . integrity, reliability, industry, and craftmanship . . . are qualities ordained and nurtured by the Quaker way of life." From a small apothecary's shop in Plough Court in 1715, the business expanded to international proportions as a drug manufacturing corporation, yet the word "capital," I believe, does not appear once. Perhaps because the book bears the imprimatur of the Company, no mention is made of the relations of the management to its labor force — a doubly fascinating question in view of the religious persuasion of the owners and the generally abominable labor conditions which obtained in England during much of the firm's existence.

Hofstra College ROBERT DAVISON

Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy, 1740-1776. By Theodore Thayer. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1954. x, 234 pages. $2.75.

Theodore Thayer, the biographer of Israel Pemberton, has given us a sound, lucid, well-documented study of Pennsylvania politics in the crucial decades leading up to the Revolution. We badly needed just

such a book. Hitherto we have been dependent on the work of Isaac Sharpless — admirable within its limits but based almost wholly on Quaker sources—and Charles H. Lincoln's *Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania*—shrewd and scholarly but decidedly biased against what its author chose to call the "Quaker oligarchy." Now we have a book that tells the tangled story clearly and fairly, tells the whole story, with insight, impartiality, and workmanlike thoroughness. Not, one regrets to say, with literary felicity or narrative power. But one can't have everything.

First and last, this is the story of that curious and consistently misunderstood phenomenon of Pennsylvania politics, the "Quaker party," and of its acknowledged leader, Benjamin Franklin, who was, of course, no Quaker and whose sympathies with Quakerism were, at most, imperfect. It is not the least of the book's virtues that it makes Franklin's relationship to the Quaker party intelligible for perhaps the first time. The other notable figures of the era are set in their proper context—Isaac Norris and Israel Pemberton, the leading Quaker politicos; Joseph Galloway, who managed the Quaker party when Franklin was absent; the formidable William Allen, who led the anti-Quaker forces, and the moderate John Dickinson, who aided him despite his own Quaker background and leanings. One impression which this book confirms is that labels like "radical" and "conservative," "aristocratic" and "popular" confuse the picture of pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania politics more than they illuminate it. Another is that there was little continuity between party alignments before and during the Revolution; the leadership of the Quaker party, for instance, split in three directions, Franklin becoming an intransigent Whig, Galloway a Tory, and Pemberton a "neutralist."

Few familiar stereotypes about the period survive Thayer's careful analysis. He demonstrates that (make of it what we will) it was not pacifism but politicking that accounted for Pennsylvania's refusal to provide military defense during the French and Indian War. (And he shows us Isaac Norris, the prominent political Quaker, subscribing £700 towards a private fund for Sir William Johnson's expedition against Crown Point.) He finds little evidence of an eastern "oligarchy" of wealthy merchants discriminating against the people of the back country; in fact he shows these so-called "oligarchs" passing special relief acts in 1759 to help the frontiersmen. Much criticism has been aimed at the Quaker party for deliberately denying the westerners fair representation in the Assembly; had the apportionment been just, it is said, the frontiersmen would have driven the Quaker party from control in 1764. Thayer does not deny or defend the under-representation, but he points out that the Quaker party would have carried the 1764 election even under an equitable system. And he easily disposes of the malicious but often-repeated charge that the Friendly Association was merely a Quaker maneuver to monopolize the Indian trade.

F. B. T.

The Virginia Exiles. By Elizabeth Gray Vining. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1955. 317 pages. $3.95.

Sometime in the 1930's Elizabeth Gray Vining read *Exiles in Virginia,* the narrative, the journals, the numerous documents collected by Thomas Gilpin and printed in 1848. To this she has added research in meeting records, journals, and other historical materials, and the result is *The Virginia Exiles*, at the same time a meticulously accurate piece of Quaker history and a perceptive, carefully wrought work of fiction, matured by long consideration and deepened by contemporary significance.

These twenty Philadelphians, seventeen of them Friends, were imprisoned on suspicion of being "inimical to the cause of American liberty", denied the right of appeal and trial, released because it became expedient. The question of individual liberty in a democracy is forever in the mind of the hero created by the author, the historical characters, and the reader.

It is most interesting to read the principal source in conjunction with the novel and to watch the transformation into fiction taking place. Elizabeth Gray Vining starts with a strong basis of historical fact; the events, documents, actual persons, recorded words and observations are much more numerous than the reader has supposed they could be. All this must be organized, condensed, molded into the sort of unity achieved more easily in fiction than in life.

The narrative is made to center on the young Caleb Middleton, created for the novel and inserted among the exiles in place of Evan Jones, from whom he inherits the charge of undermining confidence in the currency. His character soon begins to mature as no one else's does as it is developed by the ordeal, the association with Friends, and by a most satisfactory and lovely romance. His family and that of Loveday Parry, whom he is to marry, are supplied: thus history takes on the companion fiction to mutual advantage.

Characterizations seem quite good in both groups: John Hunt and Loveday Parry are exceptionally fine. They appeal to the author, who often shows an especial tenderness and a delicate artistry in describing the gentle and the lovely, whether the beauty lies in spirit or body or both. Whenever either one of them enters the scene, something happens, not to plot alone but also to the style of writing. Usually the book is detached, cool and lucid yet somehow compelling, but when Elizabeth Gray Vining writes of John Hunt, John Woolman looks over her shoulder, and when she writes of Loveday, Shakespeare's youngest and happiest heroines have something to say. Out of deference to Loveday, Phyllis Pike could easily have been discarded.

The novel gathers vitality and reality as soon as the historical material is added to it, and each strengthens the other. The novel reader may want more action and less cogitation, the historian is sure to miss a statement of sources, but neither is apt to leave *The Virginia Exiles* half read. It is a memorable piece of historical fiction.

Wilmington, Ohio DOROTHY GILBERT THORNE

Friends Work in Africa. By Douglas and Dorothy Steere. London and Philadelphia: Friends World Committee for Consultation. [1955]. xi, 60 pages. $.50.

The Society of Friends is deeply indebted to Douglas and Dorothy Steere for their concise and timely survey of Quaker outreach in Africa south of the Equator. They have packed into a brief booklet material that could well have been expanded to a full volume. Their review of 150 years of Quaker concerns in Africa begins with the visit of Nantucket whaling captains to Capetown in the early years of the nineteenth century. The first Quaker concern was termination of the slave trade. But this led to an interest in the African peoples themselves in their jungle villages. The Quaker story in Africa comes alive in the person of Hannah Kilham in Gambia, in the journeys of James Backhouse in South Africa, in the visit of Eli and Sybil Jones to Liberia, and in a succession of others who have gone to Africa motivated by "the full spectrum of Quaker concerns."

The beginning of service by British Friends in Madagascar is recounted in a graphic way, particularly the events leading to the heroic martyrdom of the Johnson family in 1895. Brief comment is made on the somewhat less extensive work of British Friends on the island of Pemba and the more recently opened and rapidly expanding field of service under the care of Kansas Yearly Meeting in Ruanda-Urundi in the very heart of central South Africa. In the western highlands of Kenya, the American Friends Board of Missions has a large responsibility in helping guide the dramatic "emerging" of virile highland tribesman whose culture has been almost static for unnumbered centuries. The more recently established Nairobi Friends Center, staffed by British Quakers, is seeking to share a reconciling ministry in the midst of Mau Mau tensions.

The final section of the booklet takes up the question, "What can South Africa Friends do about the race situation?" Scattered groups of Friends are attempting to answer this question by preparing pamphlets, by taking leadership in the Institute of Race Relations, by using their limited influence in educational and political circles, and by sharing in understanding love with those who suffer because of race tensions. In the Central African Federation (Rhodesia), Friends find themselves in a somewhat more constructive atmosphere. The scattered groups have ministered among students, promoted cultural interests, and made special studies, of which one especially worthy of mention is "The Quaker Contribution to a Multi-Racial Society." The focal center of their concern is to be of some service in helping African, Indian, and White to find a way to live together in unity.

Douglas and Dorothy Steere have done something more than prepare a survey of Friends' work in Africa. They have given us a mid-twentieth-century statement of the Quaker concern to share our spiritual heritage with less-privileged peoples. They have done for our generation a service comparable to that of Henry T. Hodgkin, forty years ago, when he out-

lined with statesmanlike understanding and spiritual insight the basic philosophy of Christian outreach, commonly called the missionary motive. There is only one cause for regret in the publication of this booklet. Because of its brevity and its basic purpose, the human-interest story so aptly told in the Steeres' travel letters had to be omitted. These letters in their own right deserve wide circulation.

Collins, N. Y. LEVINUS K. PAINTER

Laurels and Rosemary: The Life of William and Mary Howitt. By Amice Lee. New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. 350 pages. $4.80.

The Victorian but gracious title of Mrs. Lee's biography of her great-aunt and uncle does not quite do justice to its value as social and intellectual history. The lives of these two popular and prolific writers as told chiefly in the words of Mary Howitt's letters to her sister represent and illuminate brilliantly the central seventy-five years of the nineteenth century in England, the charm, the freedom, the tolerance, and the goodness of those who were educated but not university people, comfortably situated but not rich. Through their literary popularity they touched upon the edges of more aristocratic circles, and through their constant social and political concerns they opened windows toward the evil conditions in mines and the growing industrial cities.

Both Mary Botham and William Howitt came of Quaker families, but all shades of plainness to worldliness, of gloomy preocccupation with the soul to their own youthful determinations to be "great writers" existed in their family environments. Always committed to the search for truth and to concerns for social betterment, William and Mary followed if they did not lead the social and religious movements of their time. Very early in their married life, they separated from the Society of Friends without losing any of their spiritual commitments; they needed and practiced "a little silent meeting" to the end of their lives; their servants were their friends; they kept their hatred of war from the wars of Napoleon through the Crimean and the Franco-Prussian conflicts. Even to a present-day Friend Mary Howitt's conversion to Roman Catholicism, ten years after her husband's death, must seem but her own honest conclusion to an honest life of searching for the way. Not so, perhaps, the temporary immersion of both of them in the fashionable practice of mesmerism and spiritualism of the eighteen fifties.

It was as writers that their age knew the Howitts, as their two hundred published books fully justified. The pleasure they gave with their travel books, their stories and poems, and Mary's translations from the Swedish of Fredrika Bremer and the Danish of Hans Christian Andersen was considerable, and their fame went beyond the limits of their country and their time. When I was a child I remember well my mother's bringing out an old riddle her English parents thought very clever: "What does one say when watching a house on fire?"—"Dickens, Howitt Burns." My mother did not know what Howitt had written, but she knew he was a famous author.

From *Laurels and Rosemary* one emerges, indeed, rather with the impression of two energetic, humorous, and valuable personalities; as writers they were money-earners, as people they enjoyed life fully and weighed in on the side of what they thought right and moving toward a better world. In accordance with the pattern of their day, they had twelve children and outlived all but two; they traveled widely on foot, by coach, and with high enthusiasm by railway, when that became possible. After her husband's death Mary Howitt still felt the new life of springtime after winter passed; it was in spring that she determined finally to become a Roman Catholic. Her niece exclaimed at the news, "There, another of my aunt's adventures!" Mrs. Lee has captured this quality of adventure in her pleasant book.

Swarthmore College ELIZABETH COX WRIGHT

Friends School, Wigton, Cumberland. Edited by David W. Reed. Published by the Wigton Old Scholars Association. 1954. 376 pages. £1/1.

This is a fascinating book for all who are interested in the foundation and development of a Friends' school. Edited by a former Headmaster, the book combines material from two essays written earlier—in 1892 and in 1915—with new material covering the period 1915-1953. Thus we are permitted to see once again how the school was judged by contemporaries in the various stages of its development.

In 1812 the Quarterly Meeting of Cumberland and Northumberland considered the establishment of a school in this remote corner of northern England to give a more guarded education to some thirty children and to teach "Reading, Writing and Arithmetic and English Grammar, with the addition of Needlework and Knitting for the girls." It is to be noted that from the beginning both boys and girls were to be admitted, though co-education in the classroom was not actually practiced until 1882. After many preliminary negotiations the school opened on September 4, 1815, with nine boys and eight girls, but on December 18 there were fifteen boys and twelve girls, and in June, 1816, fifteen boys and fifteen girls—surely a unique situation of equality for those days!

Many amusing and surprising items are revealed in the detailed accounts of all phases of school life. In 1817, for example, an item in the financial account was for ale and beer supplied to the workman making alterations to the first school building. The additional note is made that in 1936, on completion of the new school building, the Headmaster and his wife entertained the workman to dinner—at which neither beer nor ale was served!

In January 1912, when the children returned to school, "they found the Dining Room tables arranged across the room instead of along it, and at mealtimes each boy and each girl found himself or herself with a boy on one side and a girl on the other. In order to give a variety of companionship it was arranged that once a week each boy should move to the right and each girl to the left. On the whole the new arrangement has been satisfactory, though a few have found it a trial, whilst others have found it too

interesting." Teachers in Friends' schools today both in the United States and England will no doubt appreciate the last sentence.

Wigton has produced its fair quota of men and women who have distinguished themselves in both the arts and sciences. The members of the Wigton Old Scholars Association, in publishing this history of their old school, have not only performed a service to their Alma Mater but have added a precious volume to the history of Friends' education everywhere.

Germantown Friends School MARY RHODES

One Man's Vision: The Story of the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1955. 149 pages. $2.50.

"I hope that the Institutions to which contributions are made from these Trusts may be *living bodies free to adapt themselves to the ever-changing necessities of the nation* and of the religious society of which I am a member. . . . Realising not only that 'new occasions teach new duties' but that 'time makes ancient good uncouth,' I have given to the Trustees and Directors of these foundations very wide powers and very few directions of a mandatory nature as to their exercise." (The italics are not in the original.)

These words of Joseph Rowntree strike the keynote of the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust. This volume is essentially a "case story" of a housing trust or foundation and of its community, the village of New Earswick, near York, England, during their first fifty years, from 1904 to 1954. The volume is written with objectivity, dignity, and restraint, and almost with a touch of the impersonality of a government report, by L. E. Waddilove, the Executive Officer of the Trust. The format is most attractive, the text is copiously illustrated, and some of the colored pictures are of idyllic beauty.

Joseph Rowntree (1836 - 1925), a Quaker business man of York, the father of John Wilhelm and Seebohm Rowntree, established three foundations—separately created for legal reasons. The assets of the Village Trust were valued at about £62,000 in 1904 and at about £953,000 at the end of 1953. The Trust was concerned, as the publisher's notice suggests, to provide housing in which people "of modest means might live in homes that were not only healthy but beautiful." The tenants were to pay rents giving a commercial return on the capital invested; nothing in the venture was to bear "the stamp of charity."

The story of some of the housing developments and of the relations to public acts and authorities are a bit technical for an American reader, though even here one may appreciate some of the creative architectural contributions of Sir Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker. More exciting are the glimpses of the growth of a living, democratic community: the sturdy Village Council, and how the Council and the Trustees occasionally labored with each other; the provision of the "Folk Hall," the playing fields and other community "amenities" (a delightfully versatile British term); "homely" care for a group of infirm aged persons; the village nursery; education and scholarships; a mobile rural clinic; and a concern for older people and "problem families." Two of the most interesting aspects of this account

are: first, the pattern of relationships between the Trust and the public authorities, with the sound tendency for the foundation to relinquish services as government was willing and able to take them over; and second, the sense of movement, exploration, thoughtful seeking, and slow but sure building on the part of the Trustees.

Granted a society in which large fortunes make possible the creation of foundations by private gifts, the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust is the antithesis of the "dead hand of charity." On the contrary, it seems to express the living, breathing spirit of creative philanthropy at its best.

School of Social Work ARTHUR DUNHAM
University of Michigan

Briefer Notices

By Henry J. Cadbury

"Isaac Hicks, Quaker Merchant, 1767-1820" is the title of an interesting article by Robert Davison in *Nassau County Historical Journal,* 15 (Spring 1954), 3-16. He is described as the type of self-made merchant rising from tailor to storekeeper to wealthy shipowner. He applied to big business his Quaker thrift and morality and was a pioneer in putting ships on regular sailing schedules and in handling cargoes from ships of other merchants.

* * *

Paul L. Tiers writes on "The Free Quakers" in the *Germantowne Crier,* 5 (September 1953), 16, 21.

* * *

John E. Eshelman writes on "The Society of Friends, and their Meeting Houses in Berks County" in *Historical Review of Berks County,* 19 (1954), 104-109, 117-123. This is a revision of an article which originally appeared in the same journal in 1936.

* * *

The first four of Voltaire's *Lettres sur les Anglais,* printed in 1734 and written a few years earlier, were about the Quakers and were very influential in the years that followed. A critical translation with introduction and notes by Wilson Frescoln makes them available to our generation in a limited edition of 160 copies. *(Voltaire's Letters on the Quakers,* Philadelphia: William H. Allen, 1953, 27 pages).

* * *

The pocket-size series of World Devotional Classics has now included the *Journal of John Woolman,* edited with an Introduction by Thomas S. Kepler (The World Publishing Company: Cleveland, 1954, 235 pages). It is based on the Whittier edition, ignoring the textually more accurate recent ones. The introduction, of course, is new and includes various modern testimonies to Woolman's character. Unfortunately it quotes (p. xv) from Whittier's Introduction the grotesque description of Benjamin Lay, the hunchback, as referring to Woolman's personal appearance.

* * *

A very timely subject, *Friends in Relation to the Churches,* is dealt with by Roland H. Bainton in the Ward Lecture for 1954 (Guilford College, North Carolina, 16 pages). As a church historian he reviews the reasons why Friends have differed from the churches and have justified it, and have differed among themselves and not justified it.

Virgil Barker's "Colloquial History Painting" in *Art in America,* 42 (1954), 118-125, includes illustrations of two pieces by Edward Hicks — the Peaceable Kingdom and the Declaration of Independence. Hicks's "Good Treaty" of William Penn is reproduced in color in *Life,* 36 (March 8, 1954), 78. Hicks is sympathetically treated in a chapter on "Eccentrics" in James Thomas Flexner's *The Light of Distant Skies* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1954, pp. 222-225).

* * *

Mrs. Frederick C. Munroe has contributed to *Essex Quarterly,* 90 (1954), 289-308, 389-409, a transcript of the journal of Rebecca Chase Kinsman, kept on her voyage to China in 1843. She dates by the plain language and recalls the dates when her family would be at Monthly Meeting at Lynn, Massachusetts.

This makes an opportunity to refer to earlier contributions of the same Rebecca Kinsman Munroe from the same collection of family materials published in the same periodical. They include an account of Rebecca Kinsman's husband, Nathaniel Kinsman (Vol. 85 [1949]), her own life in Macao in the 1840's (86 [1950]), her journey to Manila in 1845-6, (88 [1952]), and diary and letters of their son, Abbot Kinsman about 1862 (87 [1951]). It was the last named for whose death in 1864 Whittier wrote his poem "Kinsman."

* * *

A history of the Grand Isle Union Church, published by the Church in 1953 on its fiftieth anniversary, includes a brief account (pp. 5-7) of the Friends of Grand Isle in Lake Champlain, New York, as one of the constituent or prior religious groups. Friends arrived in the 1780's. They had a log meetinghouse by 1807 and a brick one in 1829. This was closed in 1860 and torn down in 1880. Near this site a large boulder was placed in 1899 with an inscription to their memory.

* * *

The article on Kent County Loyalists in *Delaware History,* 6 (1954), includes an account of the sufferings of John Cowgill of Little Creek Hundred, a Quaker, for refusing to accept paper currency in 1775. A letter about it by his daughter fifty years later is printed in full (pp. 123-126).

* * *

The opening of a preparative meeting at Newmarket, Ontario, on the 21st of Sixth Month, 1804, by authority of the prior Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia was duly celebrated as a 150th anniversary and noticed with illustrations in the Newmarket *Era and Express,* June 24, 1954, and the *Toronto Globe and Mail* for June 26.

* * *

Walter Ludwig contributes an article of original research on "The Quakers in Mamaroneck," to the *Westchester County Historical Bulletin,* 25 (January 1949), 3-15. It is an historical study, mainly devoted to the

eighteenth century, of Mamaroneck Preparative Meeting, Long Island, its meetinghouse and its members.

* * *

Sarah Wheeler's "Journal of a Tour to Longbranch, New Jersey, in 1798" is reproduced in part in the *Germantowne Crier,* 6 (May 1954), 6, 27. These selections from the journal of a Philadelphia Quaker girl come from a manuscript now in the possession of the Germantown Historical Society. There is an inconsistency in dates in the *Germantowne Crier.* The title of the article gives the year 1798, but 1796 appears at the head of the first entry quoted from the journal.

* * *

"The Friends Meetinghouse at Old Sturbridge," in *The Massachusetts Spy,* Old Sturbridge, Mass., Vol. 7, No. 13 (October, 1954), is a brief story of the Bolton, [Massachusetts] Friends Meetinghouse which has lately been moved to Old Sturbridge.

* * *

Charles Edgar Roake has compiled *The Journal of Joseph Roake, An Early Quaker Settler in Westchester County, New York* (Peekskill, N. Y.: Gardner Press, 1954). Joseph Roake was born in Middlesex County (England), 1739, emigrated to Prince Edward Island in 1774, and settled in Westchester County about 1789. The book is mainly a genealogy of his English ancestry and his American descendants.

* * *

Further Footsteps along the Quaker Way (Philadelphia: The Representative Committee, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1954, 55 pages, $1.00) is a sequel to a little collection of Jane P. Rushmore's occasional writings published in 1951 under the title *The Quaker Way.* Expressing throughout the viewpoint of liberal Quakerism, it consists of twenty-six succinct, incisive essays on such topics as "What Is Vital Religion?" "Friends Attitude toward Jesus," and "The Distinctive Contribution of Hicksite Quakerism."

* * *

The Quaker Bulletin, published by Westbury Quarterly Meeting, contains in its November 1954 issue (p. 1) a brief definition of "Plain Quaker Architecture," prompted by the Municipal Art Society's interest in the preservation of the 15th Street Meetinghouse in New York.

* * *

The experience recorded in the diary of Mordecai Bartram — a joint Quaker-Indian buffalo hunt on the Great Plains — is, to say the least, an unusual incident in Quaker history. The hunt took place in Nebraska in 1871. The Friends were a party of Philadelphians, guests of Albert L. Green, agent for the Otoe and Missouria tribes under President Grant's "Peace Policy." Portions of the diary are edited, with a supplementary letter of Albert L. Green, by Thomas L. Green in *Nebraska History,* 35 (1954), 193-222.

Handsomely printed, as befits the history of a printing firm, *Since 1775* (New York: Bowne and Company, n.d., 52 pages, illustrated) by Edmund A. Stanley, Jr. is the history of Bowne and Company, "New York's oldest business establishment operating under the same name since its founding." Robert Bowne, the Quaker founder, was a great-grandson of the famous John Bowne of Flushing. There are six pages of genealogical notes at the back. A first edition of this booklet was printed in May 1952.

* * *

The Eastern Chapter of the Delaware County Historical Society has published a volume entitled *Some Aspects of Delaware County History* (n.p., 1954, 110 pages). Naturally such a volume of local history contains many references to Friends. One may single out for special mention the following: "The Welsh Tract" by Freas B. Snyder (pp. 5-35), "Early Botanists and Arboretums" by Elizabeth Morley (pp. 36-39), "The Bartram Homestead . . . Brief of Title," by Edith Verlenden Paschall (pp. 40-41), "Ye Township of Newtowne" by Freas B. Snyder (pp. 46-59).

* * *

The Friends Home Service Committee of London published in 1954 a twenty-page pamphlet by Ralph Rose on *American Friends and Race Relations.* It is mainly an account of the quite recent activities in that field of the American Friends Service Committee, but it is effectively punctuated with quotations from John Woolman.

* * *

A further article on the Nicholites (see this BULLETIN 39 [1950], 124; 41 [1951], 74; 42 [1953], 66) by Kenneth L. Carroll, entitled "The Nicholites of North Carolina," is published in the *North Carolina Historical Review,* 31 (1954), 453-462. After a description of their founder and their tenets, evidence is given that about 1775 some of them migrated from Maryland and settled in western Guilford County, North Carolina. Here they built a meetinghouse. Like the northern group, they apparently merged with Friends about 1800 and turned over their meetinghouse.

* * *

Hannah B. Roach contributes to the *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine,* 19 (1952-54), 209-216, an article on "William Dickinson of Ratcliffe-upon-Soar, Nottinghamshire, England, and of Plymouth Township, Philadelphia County, Penna." The Quaker records are quoted for his second marriage to Sarah Leadbeater, for their migration to Pennsylvania about 1702, and for her marriage to Lumley Williams.

* * *

A family of Quaker emigrants in 1683 or 1684 with descendants for three generations is discussed by Lewis D. Cook in the *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine,* 19 (1952-54), 217-243, under the heading, "David Meredith of Radnor, Chester County, and of Plymouth, Philadelphia County, Penna., and His Step Children Surnamed Moore."

A perceptive treatment of Quaker-Indian relations in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania appears in Roy Harvey Pearce's *Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953 pp. 35-41). He finds that "Quaker missionary efforts were in the long run as ineffective as Quaker politics." But he concludes that "in a world dominated by imperialistic and mercantilistic drives and consequent hatred of savages who stood on the path of empire, the precise mark of success is failure."

* * *

An article entitled "The Husband Journals" is to be found in *Tableland,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Summer, 1953), 15-23. It contains excerpts from the journals of Hormon Husband, his son Isaac, and his grandson David. Hormon Husband, born in Maryland in 1724, was a convert to Quakerism, author of *Remarks on Religion,* and fugitive from the British during the period of the American Revolution.

* * *

Marshall Family of Pennsylvania, Records, 1650-1952 (privately printed, ca. 1952, 33 pages) is by Joseph B. Marshall. *Delaware History* says of this: "Descendants of the Delaware Quaker families — Griffith, Hoopes, Cope, Way, Pennock, Peirce, Mendenhall, Canby and others — will be particularly interested."

* * *

The acquisition in 1952 by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania of part of the site of the Battle of the Brandywine for a public park is reason for the publication that year by the Brandywine Battlefield Park Commission of *The Brandywine Story, 1777-1952* (26 pages, illustrations, maps). Besides a full account of the battle, there are extended accounts of the two headquarters (now restored) of Washington and LaFayette, then owned by Friends, Benjamin Ring and Gideon Gilpin respectively. There is a careful tracing of the earlier and later history of these two Quaker families. The illustrations include, besides these houses, the two nearby meetinghouses of Friends, Old Kennett and Birmingham.

* * *

This note is to introduce a new "Quarterly Journal of Genealogy and History," *The North Carolinian,* and also a somewhat new type of transcribed Quaker lists, viz., "Witnesses to North Carolina Marriages." The first instalment appears in Vol. I, No. I (March 1955), pp. 31-32, and begins with marriages of New Garden Monthly Meeting, Guilford County, 1740-1748, and is to be continued. Besides the names of witnesses, "other genealogical data may be gleaned from these Quaker marriage records such as places of residence of the bride and groom and their parents, and information as to whether the parents were living or deceased." Among members of the staff of the magazine is our friend Charles E. Rush of Chapel Hill.

* * *

The Institute of the History of Medicine has made available in facsimile Benjamin Franklin's piece, long out of print, *Some Account of the*

Pennsylvania Hospital, 1754, with an introduction by I. Bernard Cohen (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1954, xxx, 40 pages). The list of munificent contributors shows how much that institution owed to the money as well as to the interest of Friends.

* * *

Walter McIntosh Merrill reprints in *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* 91 (1955), 128-146, eleven "Uncollected Early Poems of John Greenleaf Whittier" not previously reprinted (ten from *The Free Press* and one from the *National Philanthropist).* Three others (on Quaker subjects) from *The Free Press* were reprinted by H. J. Cadbury in *New England Quarterly,* 18 (1945), 251-256.

* * *

Rhode Island History, 13 (1954), 8, prints a fine reproduction of a painted portrait of Thomas Robinson Hazard, 1797-1886 ("Shepherd Tom") in connection with mention of his *Jonny Cake Papers* in the article by Randall Stewart on "Rhode Island Literature."

* * *

Francis D. West, writing on "John Bartram and Slavery" in *South Carolina Historical Magazine,* 56 (1955), 115-119, prints a letter written in 1776 by John Bartram in Charleston to his son William in St. Augustine in which he speaks about slaves as ordinary slaveowners would and says he has bought and sent to his son six "likely negroes." Crèvecoeur is responsible for the view that Bartram had freed his slaves and was paying them handsome wages. West thinks this unlikely and supposes the slaves mentioned by the French writer belonged to Bartram's sons, to whom the Darby tax list for 1769, the year of his visit, attributes servants but none to John Bartram, senior.

* * *

An extended and unusually intimate batch of Quaker letters is "The Norris-Fisher Correspondence: A Circle of Friends, 1779-82," ably edited by John A. H. Sweeney in *Delaware History,* 6 (1954-55), 187-232. They are mostly from Deborah Norris, Sally Fisher, and Sally Zane of Philadelphia to Sally Fisher at Duck Creek, Delaware, plus a few notes from the last named. Except for some pseudonyms used for their beaux nearly all the persons referred to can be identified, and we are carried into familiar Quaker circles of the period.

* * *

"A Royalist Account of Hugh Peters' Arrest," edited by Virginia L. Ruland in the *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 18 (1955), 178-182, is printed from MS 5146 in the National Library of Ireland. It is very similar to that in the newsbook, *Parliamentary Intelligencer* of September 1660. It is of course hostile and even ribald, but its interest to Friends is that the strongly anti-Quaker author attributes (apparently incorrectly) Peters' concealment to a series of Quaker accomplices.

The *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society contained lately (98 [1954], 11-22) an article on "Dr. John Fothergill, Peacemaker," by Betsy Copping Corner and Dorothea Waley Singer.

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Many members of the family have helped in the production of a substantial volume on *Ephraim Bowles, His Quaker Heritage* (copyright 1954, J. J. Newlin, Des Moines, Iowa, 250 pages). George Fox Bowles had listed some ancestors and some descendants. His son Ephraim Bowles (1829-1914), the subject of this memoir, is largely quoted from letters. His children contributed other information. He was a farmer who moved in stages from Indiana to Galena, Kansas. In his later years he traveled as a Quaker minister in parts of the United States. Besides its genealogical data going back to the early Bowles immigration to Maryland and its personal and general historical interest, the book contributes to a knowledge of Conservative Quakerism.

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A brief article on the "Fallsington Meeting Houses," the older of them (1789) being the present center for the Levittown community, is published in the *Bucks County Traveler,* Vol. 6, No 6 (April 1955), p. 29.

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We may introduce to our readers a new journal, *Historic Nantucket,* published quarterly by the Nantucket Historical Association, beginning with the issue of July 1953. Besides particular articles to be mentioned in other notices we may refer to a series of Quaker anecdotes rehearsed in the Bay State Historical League meeting held on the island and reported in Vol. 2, No. 2 (October 1954), pp. 24-25, and the pictures of the restored interior and the exterior of the Friends Meetinghouse on Fair Street used as the Association's Museum, in Vol. 2, No. 1 (July 1954).

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The publication of a new edition suggests mention of Kathleen Prindiville's *First Ladies* (New York: Macmillan, 1932, 1941, 1954) with chapters on Dorothea (Payne) Madison (pp. 36-46) and Lou Henry Hoover pp.236-244). The sketches all are brief but detailed and laudatory.

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Writing of "One Hundred Years of Quaker Education" in the *Germantowne Crier,* Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 1955), pp. 16-19, 26, R. Bruce Jones tells the story of the School Lane and Greene Street Friends School, which was started by Hicksite Friends a hundred years ago in 1855.

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The longest single article to date in *Historic Nantucket* is on "Quakerism in Nantucket," Vol. 2, No. 3 (January 1955), pp. 8-30, by Burnham N. Dell. It uses printed works—listed in the bibliography at the end—and includes much general information about Friends. It is available as a separate pamphlet (50 cents).

Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By Lyman W. Riley

University of Pennsylvania Library

The American Friend

"The North Carolina Model Farm" was one of the projects of The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends of the Southern States during the difficult days of Reconstruction. Alice Paige White gives considerable information about its establishment and operation.—Jan. 13, 1955, pp. 7-8, 13.

Alice Paige White contributes some "Notes on Negro Education Among North Carolina Friends". — June 30, 1955, pp. 205-206.

The Friend (Philadelphia)

"The Inspiring Friends Hospital Story" by William Sheppard includes the story of the founding, in 1813, of this Philadelphia institution for the mentally ill. — Feb., 17, 1955, pp. 261-263; March 31, 1955, pp. 311-313; April 28, 1955, pp. 342-344.

Friends Intelligencer

Edmund Goerke relates "An Incident from the life of John Banks" in which this Friend (born 1638) was healed through the spiritual ministrations of George Fox. — Oct. 30, 1954, pp. 600-601.

Letter from the Past No. 149, "Destroyers of the Creation," refers to George Fox's condemnation of Cornwall wreckers, about 1660. — Jan. 8, 1955, p. 21.

In "Whittier on Reformers" Frederick B. Tolles quotes from letters and poems in a collection of Whittier manuscripts in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. — Jan. 22, 1955, pp. 49-50.

"Lincoln and the Quakers" (Letter from the Past No. 150) concerns a picture of twelve abolitionists, at least seven of whom were Friends, hanging in the Lincoln Museum in Washington, D.C. Contrary to report, Lincoln is not present in the picture. — Feb. 12, 1955, pp. 89-90. An additional note about the picture identifies an eighth Friend. — March 5, 1955, p. 130.

Alfons Pacquet (1881-1944), a German Quaker, wrote an interpretative essay on John Woolman. It is reprinted in an English translation by John R. Cary as "A Christian Figure: John Woolman".—March 6, 1955, pp. 176-178.

George W. Edwards has gathered much data on the first Quaker meetinghouse, "Bull and Mouth Meeting House, London, 1655," including the pre-Quaker history of the site and the probable origin of the name.—April 2, 1955, pp. 192-194.

William Hordern briefly summarizes the writings of George Fox the Younger (d. 1661) as "A Forgotten Quaker Prophet." This George Fox advocated universal suffrage and economic justice and appealed to Charles II not to let his power corrupt righteouness. — April 23, 1955, pp. 237-239.

Letter from the Past No. 151, "The End of a Schismatic," describes the career of John Perrott, originator of the "hat controversy" in early Quakerism. This account is occasioned by the discovery of Perrott's will in Jamaica, where he died in 1665. — May 21, 1955, pp. 296-297.

Henry J. Cadbury writes of "Friends and the Law," reviewing not Quaker disobedience to laws but the less familiar endeavors of Friends to prevent misuse of law against themselves and others. — June 4, 1955, pp. 320-323.

The Friends' Quarterly

"Wordsworth, His Circle, and the Quakers," by H. Rossiter Smith, gives considerable information about the Quaker farmer poet Thomas Wilkinson, friend of Wordsworth and Coleridge, and briefer notes on the Quaker interests of William Hazlitt, Robert Southey, and Charles Lamb.— April, 1954, pp. 117-128.

Beatrice Saxon Snell includes numerous interpretations of prayer by Friends both early and modern in her study, "Prayer in Quaker Experience."— July, 1954, pp. 137-149.

T. Canby Jones contributes a study of "George Fox's Understanding of Last Things."—Oct., 1954, pp. 194-206.

"The Cartmel 'Book for Pious Uses' " is a manuscript book of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Cartmel Meetinghouse. It contains copies of wills, trusts, and so forth, in connection with bequests to Swarthmore, Colthouse, and Height Meetings. Isabel Ross describes the contents of the book, notably the will of Lawrence Newton, dated 1676, and the documents concerning George Fox's gift of Swarthmore Meetinghouse to Friends. Among other documents are those of Thomas Rawlinson, George Knipe, and Samuel Satterthwaite.—Oct., 1954, pp. 245-256.

"Fox's Openings" by Henry J. Cadbury discusses possible influences on George Fox's expressions of his religious experience. — Jan., 1955, pp. 4-7.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

"Joshua Sprigge on the Continent" is a brief notice by Henry J. Cadbury of this English pre-Quaker (1618-1684). He notes the appearance of a number of Sprigge's works in Dutch translation by Petrus Sararius, who evidently translated some Quaker works also.—45 (1953), 60-63.

In "Some Early Quaker Autobiographies" Owen Watkins points out basic similarities that these journals reveal in telling of the spiritual struggle of seventeenth-century Friends. The Quaker journalists rejected the Bible as the infallible and final authority but used its imagery extensively in their own writing.—45 (1953), 65-74.

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